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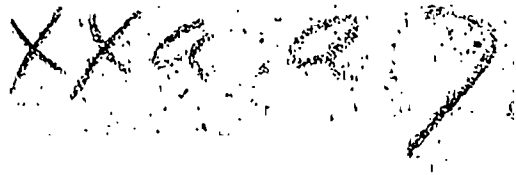

LIFE OF BISHOP BEDELL.

THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM BEDELL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF KILMORE.

H. J. MONCK MASON, LLD. MRIA.

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To that portion of the Christian public of England, which has zealously and liberally patronized the spiritual instruction of the native Irish, in the mode introduced and recommended by BISHOP BEDELL; *this memoir of that truly good man, their countryman, and one of Ireland's best benefactors, is humbly and affectionately dedicated,*

By H. J. MONCK MASON,

Secretary to the Irish Society,

for promoting the above object.

ERRATA.

Page 7, line 25, read *habits and predilections.*
— 26, — 15, .dele *Dean.*
— 34, Note for *vii,* read *viii.*
— 56, Note † line 5, for *es,* read *eo.*
— 65, line 8, for *telle* read *tel.*
—117, line 7, for *gutteral* read *guttural.*
—242, — 14, change ? to !
—271, — 17, for *unsuspecting,* read *not suspecting.*

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM BEDELL, D.D.

&c. &c.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

The life of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, has already formed a topic for the pen of the celebrated Doctor Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. This circumstance alone affords evidence, that the history and character of the former prelate are deserving of distinguished notice; while it makes it necessary that some apology should be presented for my treating of a subject, which had already engaged the attention of the historian of the Reformation in England, and the commentator on the Articles of her church. The apology is, however, readily made. Besides that I have been enabled to detail some events in his history, which have not been yet made public, it was impossible for the Bishop of Sarum to have fully foreseen, what were to be the effects upon the future ecclesiastical state of Ireland, of the greatest act of Dr. Bedell's life—the translation of the Old Testa-

ment into the Irish language; or to have foretold events, which begin now to give a peculiar interest to that work; and these events are intimately connected with the biography of this eminent person. We should look to History as a record of experience, to be consulted for our own instruction, and exhibited for that of others; and it appears to me, that nothing would be more likely to promote the due support of the great cause of the scriptural education of the people of Ireland in general, than the exhibiting, from their commencement to their last results, those enlightened principles of national instruction which, partially developed by the foresight and faith of our ancestors, remain to be expanded by the wisdom and piety of the existing Irish Church. The seed of the word of God, first thinly scattered by Bishop Bedell, in a manner congenial to the native soil, has lately taken firm root downwards, and already borne fruit upwards; and it will be a great incitement and encouragement to continued exertions, united with prayer to Him who first gave to us this seed, that he will water it with the dew of his blessing—if an instance be clearly set forth, of prudent zeal, and patient perseverance, in the history of that excellent prelate; and, if we be enabled distinctly to perceive that, by following up his measures, we may reasonably hope for the final and full establishment of peace and prosperity, flowing from the spreading of genuine Christianity, in Ireland.

The period during which Bedell lived was one

of much interest and importance in the religious annals of Europe; and the circumstances of his life are connected with those of some individuals, whose conduct greatly influenced the momentous events of that age. A sketch, therefore, of that life will have some attractions, independent of the principal one, which it possessed by its connection with religion in Ireland.

It is necessary, in order that we may form an adequate idea of the character, and a just estimate of the conduct, of Bishop Bedell, that we should inquire into the peculiar circumstances and opinions of the people among whom he distinguished himself. Previously, therefore, to the entering upon that history which will exhibit the former, we shall trace up to their origin those sentiments or prejudices of the Irish nation, which most materially influenced their actions; and drew out that Christian and truly rational system of conduct on his part, which it is our professed object to record with approbation, and to set forth as most worthy of imitation.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER—ON THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF IRELAND, PREVIOUSLY TO THE PERIOD OF MR. BEDELL'S FIRST ARRIVAL IN THAT COUNTRY.

It has been observed by the historian Leland, when writing of the miserable state of Ireland immediately subsequent to the reign of Henry II, that an "effectual conquest, and general subjection of the whole island to one reasonable and equitable government, must have proved a singular blessing to these unhappy people." Without entering into a discussion of this principle; or questioning whether or not the government of British monarchs in less enlightened times, was ever likely to have possessed, in respect to this country, the character thus specified; without attempting vainly to conjecture what might have been the mutual relations of the inhabitants of the two islands in the present age, had Ireland never been invaded from Britain at all, or had she been when thus invaded entirely subdued; we know it to be the fact, that this invasion did not end in conquest or subjection. It is certain that Henry accepted of submission, and acquiesced in agreements; that he suffered the substance of the ancient state to re-

main unchanged; and, not only that he was far from completing the connection of Ireland with England, but that Britain had at no period, in the course of many centuries, will, power, and leisure combined, to take the interests of Ireland under full and effectual consideration, and to act for their promotion. The consequences of this were, a weakness in the government, and a spirit of independence in the governed, from which resulted a state of almost continual turbulence and disaffection; so that the lesser and subordinate island, while it participated in most of the political adversities of the greater, seldom derived any advantages from its prosperity; just as a less fortunate climate will feel all the rigor of the winter of some southern and contiguous region, and yet still enjoy but the mitigated warmth of its summer.

It was obviously the policy of the British monarchs, when they chose to forego conquest, and to finish their first attempt upon Ireland by a treaty, to have followed up the assimilating and conciliating principle throughout. Had they done this, many variances, the causes of future dissension, might have been removed; and national animosity, left without sufficient materials to feed on, might, in a short time have entirely died away—but from the very beginning it was far otherwise. Doubtless, in respect to assimilation, uniformity between the English and Irish churches was ordained in the Council of Cashel; an arrangement, by the way, in which the ancient church of Ireland relinquished

all that she still retained of her primitive peculiarities and independence; but, in secular concerns, ancient constitutions remained almost entirely unaltered. The skeleton was suffered to exist; and, therefore, whatsoever was afterwards attempted to be superinduced upon the members, at least in places not within the immediate pale of English influence, assumed of course the native form. Not only did the mere Irish continue to be unchanged in actual government, but also in their customs and manners, language and modes of thinking; while the English, even of the pale, who intermarried amongst them, came into their habits so readily, that their children were commonly said to be "ipsis Hibernis Hiberniones." It has always been observed of the Celtic nations, that colonists and invaders among them have in general rapidly assimilated to the original inhabitants. Mr. Moore* states it as a "remarkable result" that, after many successful invasions by "foreign tribes," "the great bulk of the nation itself, its language, character and institutions, should have remained so free from change, that even the conquering tribes themselves should have become mingled with the general mass." He very justly attributes much of this to that "strong Celtic characteristic, attachment to old habits and prejudices;" but indeed the result is naturally to be expected, wherever new settlers intermarry with the natives, especially in a country where the female

* Moore's History of Ireland, Vol. 1. p. 97.

character is peculiarly attractive ; and will unavoidably follow from the all-powerful maternal influence which is usually exerted in moulding the infant mind, and in instilling the strongest prejudices at an early age : while in Ireland it would be greatly increased by the strong attachment which is almost universally formed, between the foster-children of the Irish, and the nurse and her connexions, and which has often been productive of striking occurrences in the history of the nation. But, from whatever cause it may have arisen, the fact is notorious ; and we find the epithet of " degenerate English " opprobiously applied to the British in this island, by many state documents of the most ancient date ; and the country itself becoming more and more merely Irish every day, in the sentiments and prejudices of all its settled inhabitants.

In the conduct of the British to the native Irish, the conciliatory manner was entirely laid aside, and that of the conqueror assumed ; from the outset an arrogant contempt of the aboriginal inhabitants was conceived by the foreign invaders; the English princes and courtiers not only treated the people as subjugated, but insulted their persons, and made scorn of all their hadits and predilictions : thus they laid the foundation, in the minds of the indignant natives, of that antipathy to the English name, that detestation of the Sassenach, or Saxon foreigner, which has been the most remarkable and influential prejudice in the genuine Hibernian, ever since the period of Henry's invasion. This prejudice did not

in any the least degree originate in a difference of religion, for it existed many centuries before the reformation had caused two discrepant modes of faith to conflict with each other in the land, by attempting to restore the purer creed of its primitive church ; and in fact it was to the invading English that the Popish authority was finally indebted, for its full and uncontrouled establishment in Ireland. We must look much deeper,—to their proud and domineering and insulting conduct,—for that root of bitterness, which has plentifully produced through a succession of ages, such acrid fruits. Proceeding from this stock, a continuation of folly and injustice on the part of the early British governments towards Ireland, which was almost uninterrupted for several centuries, could not but increase and exasperate a feeling of dislike so natural, and but too well founded. One striking fact will fully illustrate the guilty and absurd impolicy of England, and show, that every step in the domination of her monarchs served only to remove them the farther from becoming the acknowledged Lords of this island, in the ancient and attached way of feudal sovereignty, or clanship. If any of her natives, from motives of policy or of peace, desired, however sincerely, to be an English subject, he could not become so by mere submission and of his own will ; it required a special license from the crown ; and this was a privilege of difficult, and to most individuals of impracticable, attainment. Thus actually outlawed, thus nationally stamped as an Helot,

whatever might have been his aspirations after loyalty or repose, the unfavoured Hibernian was compelled to remain, by declaration of state, an "Irish enemy;" and in very self-defence, to join perhaps "the English rebel,"* in resisting supreme authorities, with his weapon of self-defence in one hand, and the rejected olive-branch in the other. In how many instances would sanguinary events of Irish history in these remote and misgoverned times, have been found,—had they been brought before a jury of England, dispassionately deciding upon facts according to the principles of her inimitable penal code,—to have been acts free from the guilt of murder, in the legal sense of the term as flowing from malice prepense.

It is however due to justice, and it is necessary for the better understanding of this subject, to remark, that it was not always, or perhaps ever entirely, to be attributed to the impolicy of English monarchs and their ministers, that assimilation and conciliation were so very much laid aside, and the benefit of British law thus denied to the Irish natives; there is reason to believe, that the ecclesiastical body here were at all times jealous of its general introduction. It is a recorded fact, that in the reign of Edward I, an intelligent and politic prince, —the Irish, brought almost to a state of anarchy by their ancient Brehon code being well nigh banished from the land, and the English law absurdly re-

* Such is the nice distinction invariably expressed in ancient acts of Parliament, and other documents.

fused, petitioned the King through his governor, that they might be taken under its protection. The answer of the monarch was thus—"Edward, &c. to our trusty and well beloved Rob. de Ufford, Lord Justice of Ireland, greeting—Whereas the Irish commonalty have made a tender to us of 8000 marks, on condition that we grant them the laws of England, to be used in the aforesaid land; we wish you to know that, inasmuch as the Irish laws are hateful to God and repugnant to justice, it seems expedient to us and to our council, to grant them the laws of England; provided always that the general consent of our people, or at least of our prelates and nobles of said land, do concur in this behalf." De Ufford informed the King that the times were not suited to the introduction of a measure so important; but, the Irish having repeated their request and urged it strongly, Edward wrote again to inquire—"Whether or not we can make such grant, without loss or prejudice to our liberties and customs?" It is not certain that any council was ever holden on this occasion; but it is the fact, that the members of which the great council was always composed were averse to the measure: among these the hierarchy preponderated. "It would seem," says Spencer, "that in those days the spiritual lords, including such of the abbots as sat in Parliament, outnumbered the whole body of their lay peers;" and that hierarchy had no desire whatsoever that the English law should be introduced into general use. All their prejudices were in favor

of the codes of civil and canon law, which suited better with the ecclesiastical spirit of inquisitorial inquiry, and its expectations of implicit obedience, than the other. That firm principle of liberty, by which the English barons, when resolutely declaring "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari,*" had opposed a solid barrier to the ever-encroaching current of ecclesiastical innovation, was sure to be jealously excluded as much as possible from Ireland by a bigotted hierarchy; which had already established a despotic authority over the minds of the ignorant and superstitious inhabitants, and ruled its willing slaves with a leaden sceptre.

But to return from the dark and turbulent history of these times, we shall select one anecdote, which presents with graphic illustration, a specimen of Irish national sentiments, as they existed in the reign of Henry VII; four hundred years after the invasion of Henry II. It is well known what trouble the turbulent and unsubdued spirit of the celebrated Gerald, Earl of Kildare, gave to the English government in Ireland. More than half an Irishman by descent, he was exclusively one in his affections and in his character; so that his patriotism, his talents, and his boldness, procured him unbounded influence over the minds of his fellow-countrymen. Arraigned before the King, of treason and of almost every species of lawless violence, his extraordinary defence confessed and aggravated his aggressions; he was especially accused of burning the church of Cashel to the ground: "Spare your evidence," he exclaim-

ed, "I did set fire to the church, for I thought the Bishop had been in it." His prosecutors upon this repeated their remonstrances to the King, and declared that "all Ireland could not govern this earl." "Well," replied the politic monarch, "this earl shall then govern all Ireland." He accordingly did appoint Kildare to the supreme government of that island; and, by this masterly stroke of crafty wisdom, restored for a while the influence of his government within those portions of it where it was acknowledged. This instance exhibits a strong proof, that, long before Religion superinduced additional motives to national jealousy and aversion, the Irish natives, and the more ancient English settlers among them, possessed it in a sufficient degree to make the British domination entirely insecure, and to cause the crown of England to crouch to the Irish demagogue. These sentiments, let it be recollected, were in no degree changed at the period of our history.

Such was the state of national feeling in Ireland, when an attempt was made in the sixteenth century to introduce the reformed religion into that country. There is no reason to suppose that a change might not have been effected in the creed of its native inhabitants, notwithstanding the existing prejudices in favour of the Roman Catholic faith, had nothing but these prejudices stood in the way; and had the method of accomplishing it been according to the plan laid down by God himself, for the spreading of the divine religion of his Son,

It is rather probable that the preaching and reading of the Gospel would have succeeded, as it did in England, from this fact which is no where denied, that even without it, during a portion of Elizabeth's reign, the Roman Catholic bishops, priests, and people of Ireland very generally complied with the enacted reformation. We are informed by the answerers to the remonstrants of 1644,* that the act of uniformity was not executed in this country at all, "because there were no recusants; as all of the Romish communion resorted to the Established Church:"—And the Jesuit Parsons, in answer to Coke, is constrained to admit much of this as the truth, and to say, "I deny not but that many throughout the realm, though otherwise Catholics in heart, did at this time and after, as also now, (A. D. 1606) either from fear, or lack of better instruction, or both, repair to Protestant churches." This was the case at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, and it continued for some short period of time. The movement, had it been assisted with the proper impulse, might possibly have gained ground, and thus have become general as well as constant; but failing of that in its origin and progress, the people quickly responded to the call of their usual agitators: "Swarms of Jesuits and priests, educated in the seminaries founded by King Philip II. in Spain and the Netherlands, and by the Cardinal of Lorraine in Champagne, coming over, soon prevailed with an

* Leland ii. 381.

ignorant and credulous people to withdraw from the public service of the church : the spiritual and temporal swords were both of them unsheathed ; the Queen excommunicated ; her life attempted ; and Spain worked up to a tremendous effort to extirpate altogether a heresy so detested at Rome.

It is, however, much more probable that the peaceful acquiescence which first followed the introduction of the reformed religion into Ireland, was but the calm preceding the hurricane,—insincere in the priesthood and the better educated, and superficial in the mass of the people,—enforced by temporary fears in both. It will appear from the celebrated Edmund Spencer's State of Ireland, that, so far from making use of the means of Gospel preaching, the common acts of persuasion were not usually resorted to, with the view of reconciling the Roman Catholics to the reformed doctrine. "In planting of religion," he says, "thus much is needful to be attended to, that it be not impressed into them with terror and sharp penalties, *as now is the manner ;* but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness ; so as it may not be hated before it is understood, and its professors despised and rejected :" and it is manifest also from a letter to the Lords of the English Council, written by Lord Mountjoy, who was Lord Deputy in the year 1599, that until that time, the act of uniformity was strictly enforced. The first paragraph of this letter is thus—"Whereas it hath pleased your Lordship in your last letters, to command

us to deal moderately in the great matter of religion, I had, before the receipt of your Lordship's letters, presumed to advise such as dealt in it, for a time to hold a more restrained hand therein." * These authorities prove that the High Commission Court, which was established at Dublin in the year 1593, to inspect and reform all offences committed against the Acts of 2 Elizabeth, had been strict in enforcing these its own instructions to the provincial governors of Ireland—"to embrace and devoutly to observe the order and service of the church established in the realm, by parliament or otherwise; to execute all manner of statutes of this realm; and to levy, or cause to be levied, all forfeitures, &c." They also demonstrate that, upon experiment, the good sense of Elizabeth and her ministers induced them to relax. It is useless now to conjecture what might have been the result of the preaching of the gospel, by the peaceful ministers of its Author, had it been sufficiently resorted to; for the experiment was scarcely attempted, and the efforts to inculcate Protestantism in Ireland may be asserted to have been associated, from the very commencement,

* One of the letters of the English Privy Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy in the reign of James I. (A. D. 1606) contains instructions replete with good sense. "Conformity," they say, "must be wrought with time; and by the care which you must take to enlarge the passage of God's word, by choice and plantation of sufficient and zealous men, to teach and preach the same unto his people; wherein we have more hope of good effects, (by the favor of God), than by any sudden or violent course in that kingdom, where the people have so little means as yet to be instructed."—(Richardson's pamphlet on the attempts to convert the Irish, pp. 17 and 20.) Dr. Richardson justly observes, that "when the natives were compelled, there was no way made."

and even most unfortunately blended with, all the circumstances of national jealousy above mentioned. It originated in England, was imported by its government, and was attempted to be forced upon the people, by the Parliament and by the state, in the usual manner of proud contempt, and without any mediation whatsoever to reconcile it to their prejudices, or to their understandings;—and therefore it was that Protestantism received, at its very birth, the mark of Cain upon its forehead, and was avoided with suspicion and with odium. Religion from thenceforth became, what it had not been before, an occasion of bitter national animosity. Other events followed those of the Reformation, and of the much-complained-of "rigorous execution of the penal laws against recusants," which increased yet more this angry temper. The settlement of Ulster, for instance, added greatly to the number of English and Scottish settlers of a different creed; and we may well imagine what exasperated feelings accompanied the Irish that were dispossessed, and how they communicated these to the sympathies of their fellow-countrymen. Again, the members of the dominant party in Great Britain, who were virtually Lords of Ireland, and at last became really so, were known to be most intolerant to the prevailing religion of the inhabitants. Thus the original material of dislike and discontent progressively increased, so that, just previously to the bursting forth of the great Irish Rebellion in 1641, and at the period when Bedell was called to exercise

his ministry in Ireland, every motive ancient and modern, political and religious, and many existing adverse circumstances combined, to make the hatred of the English name in that country so excessive, that nothing short of complete extirpation could satisfy the sanguinary desires of the native people.

As religious differences, although they could not in any degree have operated as the first cause of the aversion of the Irish nation to English rule, —did, in fact, become a principal motive for its increase, and even in later years appear to have assumed a remarkable preeminence among the sources of disgust, it will be necessary to trace up that important subject to its origin; in order that we may be enabled justly to appreciate their powerful influences upon the Irish national character.

Religion has always had the most material connection with the politics of all Christian states, but with none more than those of this Island, because of the peculiar bias of its natives to veneration; a sentiment which has at one period of its history been exalted to the purest devotion and most pious zeal, and at another degraded to the grossest superstition. This bias of the Irish people is very striking, and should be always kept in view by any historian of Ireland, who desires to detail philosophically the annals of his country. It is glanced at by Mr. Moore, in a passage already quoted from his History; * and again, where he adverts to that

* Moore, vol. i. 71. 203.

"ready pliancy, that facility in yielding to new impulses and influences, which, in the Irish character, is so remarkably combined *with a fond adherence to old usages and customs*, and with that sort of retrospective imagination which for ever yearns after the past." This observation is just, and properly describes that strong sentiment, which exhibits itself by a deep and habitual respect for every thing that is calculated to command it; whether it be national, as religion, language, and ancient origin; or personal, as rank, power, or other eminence. The influence of this principle is strikingly evidenced, in the tenacity with which the Irish have always abided by their ancient and established superstitions, so as to preserve many that are purely Pagan, almost entirely unmixed with any Christian feature and with a faithful attachment which a purer creed does not always ensure. A short detail will be requisite, in order to prove and to illustrate this very important point.

Even in the dark ages of Paganism, the devotion of Erin to its absurdities acquired for her the title of the "Sacred isle"— she is so called in Himilco's account of the celebrated periplus of Hanno, many years before the birth of Christ.* So rivetted were her natives in their attachment to these, that the first preachers of Christianity found it necessary to temporize much, and to yield to that propensity which, with a strange and not unnatural contradic-

* Moore, vol. I. p. 7.

tion, called for this indulgence, even in the case of willing converts.

There is no doubt that these holy men were both zealous and pure ; and, in matters most essential, were entirely uncompromising. It is indeed related of St. Patrick, that he indignantly demolished an enormous and frightful idol at Crom-cruach ; probably one of those wicker imitations of man's form, in which were consumed human victims as immolations to Moloch : yet it is also unquestionable, that our first missionaries must have been more indulgent to received prejudices, than even the emissaries of Gregory the Great to the Anglo-Saxons in England. Respecting these we are informed by Bede, that this Pope thought it necessary, in his instructions to St. Austin, to direct him "not to abolish their Paganish ceremonies, but to adopt them, and give them a new direction, that so the conversion of the people might be facilitated ; " but in Ireland the mistaken and unscriptural principle of not abolishing them was acted upon to a still far greater extent ; although that of giving them in this compromising manner a new direction, does not appear to have been so artfully attended to, as it was by the Popish agents. Hence we have continued amongst us, not only, in common with the English, the patrons or patterns, (the wakes of England,) which were in ancient times festivities in honor of Pagan deities, and have suffered little more of change, than the transfer of patronage to some saint, or martyr, but also very many others.

The religion which prevailed in Ireland, at the period when the doctrines of Christianity were first preached by the Missionaries therein, appears to have been a mixture of those which have been named Magian, and Druidical. It is unnecessary here to enter into a detail of its doctrines, or its ceremonies*; however they may be diversified, it does not appear that they contained any thing of a mixed nature, with regard to their origin or object; for, whether the people venerated the rude stone, or worshipped the sacred fire, we can trace all up to the simple adoration of the sun, in his peculiar character of the first great principle of life. —"Nos autem credimus et adoramus solem verum, Christum," says St. Patrick in his celebrated letter to the Irish, alluding to the created object of their worship. Through him, as it has been elsewhere sufficiently proved, the hills and high places, the lakes and the wells, the glens and the groves of the island became sacred; the ministers of religion, whether Magi or Druids, were his priests; to him were dedicated alike the Cromlech and the Tower; and his traces are still to be found in some customs, which are continued to this day by the superstition of the people.

Among the ancient Irish were celebrated four great festivals annually in honor of the chief object of their worship; they were solemnized at or about

* They are sufficiently treated of by Mr. Moore, in the 1st vol. of his History of Ireland, in a general way; and enlarged on by the authorities to which he refers.

the periods of the equinoxes and the solstices. The first of these was stiled La Baal-tine, or the day of the fire of the Sun, a name which it still retains ; the time for keeping it was originally the vernal equinox, but it was on the establishing of Christianity iransferred to the first of May, to prevent it from interfering with Lent ; the next was at Midsummer ; the third about the period of the autumnal equinox. At the first of these the parent of vegetation was invoked for a prosperous opening of the season of flowers ; at the second he was petitioned for a maturing of the fruits and grain ; and the third was rather a festival of thanksgiving, celebrated by an offering of both : at all of these, fires were lighted in the high places in honor of the God. There was still a fourth, of which little or no traces at present remain, and which was celebrated at the winter solstice ; one of rejoicing also, that the dead and dreary season was now partly over ; for at this period, as Mr. Moore asserts, there was the usual lighting-up of fires, in high places ; which was the great peculiarity of these festivals in honor of the Sun. Most of these holidays have been retained. The Baal-tine is still strictly kept ; and its dances, and its fires, and its emblems, and its flowers, demonstrate the character of its original institution. In like manner the eve of St. John has usurped that of Midsummer ; but the hills, every where blazing with bonfires, attest its Pagan origin—for indeed, were the Baptist to be honored on this eve, water would

have been a more appropriate element to be used in its sacred rites. Still do the young peasants, dancing about the bonfire, dart quickly through the flames, according to the ancient practice of dedication to Moloch; still it is quite a common practice, to snatch up a burning brand, and to run with it while blazing through the green cornfields, invoking a blessing upon the crops; and still, in these our days, in some districts, yellow balls are often suspended on high above the blaze. Again, the present feast of All Saints' eve is celebrated with fires as the others; and, among the many playful superstitions of Hallow-e'en, there is also a sacrifice expressed by the burning of nuts, leaving to the flame, the emblem of the God, the decision of future marriages. Among the old customs of this festival one is remarkable; there is a peculiar mixture of drink made use of in it, and in celebrating it alone; this mixture is made up of cider and of ale, or the combined juices of the fruits and of the grain, and is vulgarly called Lamb's-wool, a denomination which has as little connection with the substance commonly known by that title, as the name with the ceremonies of the day. It is supposed that we must look to the Irish language for the meaning; that la-mas-ubhal, pronounced lamasool, and by an easy transition lamb's-wool, signifies the day of the gathered apples, or fruits; and through this explanation we are let into the entire mystery of this ancient pagan festival. These three festivities are universal and notorious. The

last I mention on the authority of Mr. Moore; and if, as he asserts, at the winter solstice another such great fire be periodically lighted up, we have in this fact the most important circumstance required, for the establishing of the existence of the fourth great annual feast of the winter solstice, and our modern Christmas.

The honor still paid to mountains, lakes, wells, &c. has already been mentioned, as well as the festivals denominated patrons or patterns; the celebrated round towers, afford an additional proof of the attachment of the Irish people to every thing associated with their ideas of antiquity and religion; and this, whether they be pagan or primitive Christian structures. In every place where the Christian religion became that of the state, the sites of Pagan temples, and even the buildings themselves, have been converted to the uses of the new creed: thus it was with the Pantheon at Rome; and Mohammedism, when it became the dominant faith of Constantinople, retaliated thus on the cathedral of St. Sophia—and most probably in like manner, the first Missionaries to Ireland, finding these towers, and possibly some buildings connected with them, already hallowed in the affections of the inhabitants, planted their churches near them, with a view to turn their prejudices to their own account. It is indeed the opinion of some excellent antiquarians, that they are of Christian origin; but it is difficult to reconcile one simple truth with this

theory. The venerable Bede informs us,* that the cathedrals of Ireland, before the commencement of the seventh century, were constructed of timber and wattles; he tells us, that St. Finan "in insulâ Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sede congruam; quam tamen, *more Scotorum*, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque arundine texit." It is scarcely necessary to remark that the Irish are alluded to here; and it cannot be imagined, that a people capable of erecting such perfect specimens of architecture in their way as the round towers confessedly are, and so very religious a people withal, should have nothing better than wooden buildings for their cathedrals; or that they should have wasted such consummate skill on an inferior adjunct. A comparison of these instances of Pagan superstition, with those which are pointed out by several writers,† as being still in full exercise even in Rome itself, but under the newer appearance of Christian ceremonies, will shew that the former are much stronger examples than the latter, of the natural adherence of the mind to ancient customs; since many of them depend solely for their continuance on simple antiquity, and owe but very little, if any, of their present acceptance, to a connection with more modern religious influences.

But, consistently with the character of ready pliancy, so justly attributed to the Irish people, they

* Ecc. History, Lib. iii. c. 25.

† See the interesting work of Dr. Conyers Middleton, on this subject.

received with facility the new doctrines of the Christian teachers; while they never gave up such old customs as these permitted to continue. And now, the national bias being led to flow freely in this channel, Erin soon became so celebrated for Christian devotion, that she, far better than before, merited the title of "Holy;" and that of the "Isle of Saints," was justly bestowed upon her; when she became the cradle of Missionary efforts, "whence savage clans and roving barbarians received the benefit of knowledge, and the blessings of religion." It is a matter of historical certainty, that, for a long period of time, Ireland merited that comment of the intelligent historian, Rapin, when he says*— "It is surprisingly strange, that the conversion of the English should be ascribed to Austin, rather than to Aidan, to Finan, to Colman, to Cedd, to Dimma, and the other Scottish, or Irish monks, who undoubtedly laboured much more abundantly than he." Many proofs occur, in this second and interesting period of her religious history, of the tenacious devotion of the Irish people to every thing that is ancient and sacred among them. This is indeed notoriously exemplified, even in the present day, by their deep reverence for the memory of their primitive Saints, and their unbounded respect for the islands, churches, and other holy places connected with the traditions which preserve that remembrance; and it was in old times evidenced, in the most remarkable manner, by those facts re-

* History of England, fol. London, 1752, vol. 1. p. 80.

corded of them, which testify that, much longer than any European nation, they and the ancient Britons resisted the innovations and encroachments of the Papal See; and, obstinately abiding by the customs received through St. Columbkille from their fathers, did, as they were then accused, "out of the two utmost isles of the ocean, fight with the whole world."* The ancient Britons and Scots, or Irish, says the historian Mosheim, "persisted long in the maintenance of their religious liberty; and neither the threats nor the promises of the legates of Rome, could engage them to submit to the decrees and authority of the Roman Pontiff; as appears manifestly from the testimony of Bede;"†— and Dean Milner says, "that attempts were made all this time, by the Bishops of Rome, to induce the Irish to unite themselves to the English Church," meaning that of Austin, "but in vain." At a later period still, when the creed of the modern Roman Catholic Church was at length fully established in this island, which was not until after the invasion of Henry II, and her insinuating corruptions had crept over and sullied the entire surface of religion, amalgamating all that was already sacred; we find its inhabitants persisting in them with a characteristic pertinacity which amounted to excessive bigotry, and which still exists in undiminished strength. These facts abundantly establish that point in the national character, which will fully account for the despotic influence that religion, combined with alleged an-

* Bede Ecc. History, Lib. i. c. 25. † Ecc. History, p. 2. c. 2.

tiquity, has possessed over the minds of the Irish, during every period of their more modern history; and especially just before the Great Rebellion. If it were often united with a "ready pliancy," and "facility in yielding to new impulses and influences," it is not on that account the less natural; for nations, like individuals, are combinations of strange contrasts.

But it is not sufficient thus superficially to have demonstrated the existence of this trait, we cannot well appreciate it in its consequences, without a knowledge of the important machinery through which it worked ;* and many allusions must necessarily be made to it in the course of this memoir. It will be therefore absolutely necessary, for the fuller understanding of the state of religion in Ireland, at the time of Bedell's settling in that country, to enlarge somewhat on the history of Christianity in this island, its primitive purity, its corruption by the introduction of Romish errors, and the attempts at reforming them. It will be the more proper to dwell somewhat upon these points, as they very particularly engaged the attention, and formed a subject for the pen, of Bishop Bedell himself.

* When first I undertook to prepare this memoir, I doubted much whether, as I have elsewhere separately, and fully, treated the subject of the religion of the Ancient Irish, I should enlarge so much upon it here; but, besides that several have persuaded me that it is neither improper nor out of place, I feel that it is a subject of the greatest importance, and one that is not put forward and urged as it should be; and therefore I press it here again, hoping that it will arrest the public attention. Were these truths sufficiently known, we should not have had the intelligent Protestant writers of pamphlets in England appear to receive it as a conceded axiom, tha the Roman Catholic is the most ancient christian creed of Ireland.

The question—who, or from whence, were the first preachers of Christianity in Ireland? is one which has been very much discussed, but which, most probably, will never be determined with any degree of certainty. It is manifest that it was not introduced into this island by St. Patrick; to this he himself bears witness in his accredited writings; for we find him in his celebrated Confession declaring thus, "ubique pergebam causâ vestrâ, etiam usque ad exteras partes, ubi nunquam aliquis pervenerit qui baptizaret." "An assertion important,"—Mr. Moore, re-echoing the words of Dr. Lanigan, remarks,—"as plainly implying that, in the more accessible parts of the country, Christianity had before his time been preached and practised."* The fact is indeed conceded by all writers on the subject, but—as St. Patrick is still elsewhere represented, even by this influential writer, to have been the person who "introduced the Christian doctrine" among the Irish,†—it will be necessary to adduce a few other proofs, admitted also by the same ecclesiastical historians, to shew that Christianity existed and even flourished in Ireland, before Patrick's arrival there. First then, it is manifested by the terms of the Pope's commission to Palladius, who preceded that saint, as a missionary to this island; these are, that he should go "ad Scotos in Christo credentes"—to confirm, or correct, a people already professing the faith of Christ. Again, there are the letters of Celestius, an Irishman, the celebrated

* Moore's History, i. 221. † Ibid vol. i. p. 307.

disciple of Pelagius, which are thus spoken of by Mr. Moore :— " while yet a youth, and before he adopted the Pelagian Doctrine," Celestius from the monastery of Tours, " A. D. 369, addressed to his parents in Ireland three letters, in the form as we are told of little books, and full of such piety," as Gennadius expresses it, " as to make them necessary to all who love God ;"—this demonstrates that Christianity, the subject of these letters, was the religion of those to whom they were addressed, and also that it was in an advanced state with them, sixty years before the arrival of St. Patrick. Other testimonies on the subject exist : Tertullian, writing about the year 100, informs us, that places in the British isles, (plural), unapproached by the Romans, were yet subjected to Christ ;* and Chrysostom, who died about the year 400, has made mention of " churches founded, and altars erected," and the Scriptures read, throughout the British *isles*. But, especially, the venerable Bede establishes the point beyond a doubt, in his account of the celebrated discussion at the synod holden at Whitby, to which we shall presently return. Neither was it from a missionary sent hither by the See of Rome, that Ireland first received the Gospel of Christ, a fact also evidenced by the same account of Bede ; and, as far as regards St. Patrick himself, by the contents of the works that are put forth as having been written by this eminent man. Whether these be genuine or not,

* Adv. Jud. c. 7.

they are to be considered as being acquiesced in as such by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, through whose hands they have been transmitted to us as such; they at least are not forgeries by Protestants; and therefore they are decisive evidence upon the question, if their testimony be to prove that St. Patrick was not an emissary of the Romish See. This testimony is necessarily of a negative kind; but as in these documents, no mention of Rome, at least in the way of a mother church, occurs; no trace of a mission from it appears; the peculiar doctrines of that Church are no where in the least inculcated; they must be admitted as witnesses to demonstrate, that the mission of St. Patrick did not emanate from Rome; at least so far as to throw the burden of proof upon those who maintain the affirmative.

But the account given by Bede of the synod of Whitby, not only proves a much earlier introduction of Christianity into Ireland than is generally supposed, and that it was not the work of Rome, but informs us where it did originate; although it is not decisive as to the person, or the time. This undeniable record has preserved the arguments made use of by St. Colman, an Irishman, who was bishop of Lindisfarne in Great Britain, and by Wilfrid, an advocate for the supremacy of the Romish See; at a Synod holden at Whitby, in Yorkshire, A.D. 664; in the presence of Oswi, king of Northumberland; and in which were discussed the right period for the celebration of Easter, and other

matters, in which the ancient Irish church differed from that lately planted in Britain, by St. Austin, as a scion from Rome. Bede reports the speech of Colman in these remarkable words. "This Easter, which I used to observe, I received from my elders who sent me bishop here; which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated after the same manner: which, that it may not seem unto any to be contemned and rejected, is the same which the blessed Evangelist St. John, the disciple specially beloved by our Lord, with all the churches that he did oversee, is read to have celebrated." And again. "I marvel how some can call that absurd, in which we follow the example of so great an apostle; one who was thought worthy of reposing on the bosom of his Lord; and, can it be believed, that such men as our venerable father Columbkille and his successors, would have thought, or acted, things contrary to the sacred pages?" Such is the testimony of the venerable Bede, a Roman Catholic writer, given about the year 730, within less than a century of the holding of the synod. Its truth has never been denied, although it has been most unaccountably slighted in modern days. It demonstrates, beyond a doubt, not only that Ireland was not indebted for Christianity to St. Patrick, through any mission from the supposed successors of St. Peter, or otherwise; but that she had enjoyed it even from its primitive age, and from the immediate disciples of St. John. Had indeed St. Patrick been the planter of the

Christian faith in this island, it is absolutely impossible that he should not have been named, in an argument which proceeded entirely upon authorities drawn from every possible source. Had Rome been its origin, could Wilfrid, a person peculiarly shrewd and skilled in the learning of the age, have omitted to state it, and triumphantly to urge it? would Colman have traced up all his sources of peculiar doctrines to St. John, without even mentioning St. Peter, and so exclusively dwelt on St. Columba? or could the discussion, which was respecting the greater merits of the practices of Ireland or of Rome as independent and discrepant churches, have been instituted at all, if the church of Ireland had notoriously been a scion of that of Rome?* "Traces of connexion, through Greek and Asiatic missionaries, with the east, there is no doubt are to be found in the records and transactions of that period," says Mr. Moore, † and that connexion appears also from the

* The matter is put beyond doubt by the concluding words of Wilfrid's argument.—"As touching your father Columba.—I deemed not but they were men of God, and acceptable in his sight; who loved God, though in rude simplicity, yet with a godly intention. Neither do I think that the manner of their observation could be much prejudicial against them, *as long as they had as yet received no instructions to the contrary:* but I rather verily suppose, seeing such commandments of God as they knew they willingly followed, *they would also have conformed themselves to the Catholic judgment, if they had been so informed.*" (Bede, Ecc. History, Lib. iii. c. 25. Stapleton's translation.) How can it therefore be supposed, that the nation thus alluded to had been visited and instructed by a Missionary of the Romish See, above half a century before Columba was born. The words underlined are much stronger in the original, thus—"Quamdiu *nullus advenerat*, qui eis instituti perfectioris decreta, quem sequerentur, ostenderet," "as long as no person had come among them, who could show to them the judgment of a more perfect way for them to follow."

† Vol. i. p. 297.

unanimity, pertinacity, and even prejudice, with which the Irish church for a long time adhered to its times for celebrating the festival of Easter, its mode of tonsure, its offices, rite of baptism, and other points in which it perfectly agreed with the eastern church, and differed from the western,—in some of them against the plain reason of the case.* However trifling some of these points of difference alluded to may appear to us now, they did for centuries divide the Christian world; and that which was thus anxiously contested between Polycarp and Anicetus, the bishops of Smyrna and Rome, the representatives of St. John and St. Peter, the Greek and the Latin churches, in the second century, continued to be the grand mark of distinction between their respective adherents, for ages after in Ireland; in Wales, where the mission and authority of St. Austin were unanimously rejected on account of it; and in Iona even down to the eighth century. This appears to present such a circumstance of evidence in itself, as almost to carry proof; and it does so fully, when we look to the manner in which it is employed by St. Colman as acknowledged tradition

* It is also to be discerned in the prejudice of the early Irish christians, as to residence in Islands; and in their common selection of the number seven, in forming their groups of churches.

This eastern origin of the Irish church is also evidenced by the peculiar character of its episcopacy. I make no allusion here to the Culdees, as I entirely agree with the best historians, that what has been written of them is much founded in error. I was formerly led to follow into it the leading of Dr. Ledwich, Jamieson, and others; but was set right by the reasoning of Bishop Lloyd. It is a mistake to refer to Bede as authority respecting the Culdees; he never once mentions the name, and they are not to be confounded with the monastery of Iona.

and recorded fact, to demonstrate the independence and eastern origin of his native church. This passage of Bede still further contains this most remarkable exemplification of that trait in the Irish character, upon which I have already enlarged.—St. Colman and his monks, being defeated in the controversy, abandoned their connection with Britain, and returned in a body to their native country; determined to abide with unbending firmness by customs long established, and connected with objects of traditional veneration. Even so late as the year 842, or about that time, "certain clergymen who dwelt in the isles of the ocean," (as it is supposed from Wales or ancient Britain, and Ireland,) repaired to Methudius, the patriarch of Constantinople; to inquire of "certain ecclesiastical traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Easter."* A remarkable instance of pertinacity, especially as the Irish were in this latter point entirely in error; and which can only be accounted for by the exceeding reverence, in which the memory of their first teachers from the churches of the East was then holden.

With respect to St. Patrick, the silence of the venerable Bede, who does not mention even his name on the occasion of this discussion, or elsewhere in his history, has led many to doubt, and to advance it as an argument against, the very existence of that saint, as a Christian Missionary of any note; but it appears from other circumstances, such as strong

* Life of St. Chrysostom. See his works, Sav. Ed. vol. vii. p. 321.

and abundant tradition, and especially the names of churches, townlands, and other objects every where existing, that this conclusion is without warrant. Although the passage demonstrates, that Patrick was not, at the time of this synod, of such estimation as Columbkille in the Irish Church; and that we must look to ages yet more remote than those in which either of these great men flourished, for the first introduction into this island of the Christian faith; the mission of St. Patrick was unquestionably successful in spreading and confirming that faith.

In treating of the primitive purity of the Irish church and its doctrines, and the introduction into it of the corruptions of the Romish, it will be necessary very much to combine the two subjects, as the insinuation of these errors into the original faith was gradual, and took place at different periods; there were shades of colouring, imperceptibly blending, between the lucid truth of scriptural Christianity, and the dark falsehood of apostacy. It will clearly appear, from all that has been advanced on this subject, that, whether originally sprung from the disciples of St. Peter or of St. John, all the Irish christians in the first centuries, and down to about the year of our Lord 600, agreed with each other in their tenets; and these tenets were all of them scriptural, and the most of them in direct opposition to the modern creed of the Council of Trent.

The ancient Irish did not hold the supremacy, catholicity, or infallibility of the Pope of Rome; nor indeed could they, for these pretensions had not as

yet been arrogated by that Pontiff. To prove that they held themselves to be altogether independent of him or his authority, one instance, from among several which will be found enumerated by Ussher and other writers on this subject, will be sufficient in this place; and it shall be taken from the work of a Roman Catholic Historian, the Cardinal Baronius. He informs us,* that, when a question, called that of "the three chapters," engaged the attention of princes, "awakened the alarm of the Roman Court," and became a subject for "the decision of the fifth general Council held in the year 553," "*all the bishops that were in Ireland, with most earnest study, rose up jointly for the defence of the three chapters;* and, when they perceived, that the church of Rome did both receive the condemnation of the three chapters, and strengthened the fifth synod with her consent, they departed from her, and clave to the rest of the schismatics."

They relied upon the scriptures as the only rule of faith, and permitted and encouraged them to be read by all classes, and sexes, and ages. The venerable Bede testifies thus of the Irish nation,† "they observed *only*, those works of piety and charity, which they could learn in the prophetical evangelical and apostolical *writings*;" and he relates of St. Aidan, that "all such as went with him, whether clergy or laity, were obliged to exercise themselves either in the reading of the scriptures, or in the learning of the Psalms."‡ St. Chrysostom gave

* See ad. ann. 566. † Lib. 3. c. 4. ‡ Lib. 3. c. 5, and 26.

the following testimony about the year 400. * "Although, (or if), thou shouldest go to the Ocean, or those British Isles,—thou shouldest hear all men every where discoursing matters out of the Scriptures, with another voice indeed, but not another faith." While all the numerous accounts that we have, in Bede and other writers, of persons flocking into Ireland for education, dwell upon their learning of the Holy Scriptures; and all the eulogy which this venerable Romanist bestows upon these teachers, and their seminaries, is combined with assertions of their eminence in a knowledge of that sacred volume.

That essential doctrine of Justification, the great touchstone of a scriptural church; the material point in which the English Protestant dissents from the errors of Rome; was holden, by the ancient Irish, and especially by St. Patrick, in its purity. This is evident from his Confession, and the writings of Claudius and Sedulius. They taught that it was by faith alone; and that no human creatures could stand acquitted before God, on account of their own merits, or those of others. "These are not my words," St. Patrick declares in his Confession,† "but those of God, and the apostles, and the prophets, that have never lied.—He who believeth shall be saved, but he who believeth not shall be damned." Again, of himself he says,‡ "I was as a stone which lies in the deep mire, and he who is mighty came, and took me out of it in his

* De util. scrip. Ed. Sav. T. viii. p. 111. † Opusc. St. Pat. p. 30. ‡ p. 5.

mercy."* "I am unworthy," he exclaims, "to assist God or man."

They invoked neither Saints nor Angels, and paid no service of either Latria or Dulia to them, or to the virgin; this is manifest, among other proofs, from St. Patrick's Confession, which is the work of a prayerful holy man; "the Lord our advocate prays for us," is his only language there. In like manner his celebrated hymn, which is contained in a MS. of the most remote antiquity, in the Usserian collection of Trinity College, Dublin, noticed by Ware, O'Conor and others, breathes a spirit of the most fervent devotion, yet is perfectly free from any address to created beings, however holy or exalted.

Finally, on this head, we are informed, that the Britons, who entirely assimilated with the Irish in matters of religion, and the Saxons, lived well together while the latter were heathens; but, "after that, by the means of Austin, the Saxons became Christians, in such sort as Austin taught them, the Bryttons wold not, after that, nether eate nor drynke with them, because they corrupted, with superstition, ymages and ydolatrie, the true religion of Christ."†

They knew nothing of purgatory, or of indulgences; nor was it possible they could, as both of them are of modern invention. This is admitted by that great advocate of Popery, Fisher, Roman Catholic Bishop of Rochester, in his confutation of Luther; ‡ where

* P. 28. † Ms. Corp. Ch. Col. Camb. ‡ Art. 18.

he says, "Nemo certé jam dubitat orthodoxus an purgatorium sit, de quo tamen apud priscos illos nulla, vel quam raró, fiebat mentio,"—adding that, "Neque tàm necessaria fuit, sive purgatorii seu indulgentiarum fides in primâ ecclesiâ, atque nunc est." And that St. Patrick or the primitive Christians thought not of such a place, is manifest from a tract attributed to him by them, and written on the following subject,—"de tribus habitaculis;" and also from an ancient canon of a synod said to have been holden by him. In the former it is declared thus; "There be three habitations under the power of Almighty God; the first, the lowermost, and the middle; the highest whereof is called the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of the heavens; the lowermost is termed Hell; the middle is named the present world:" and again, "In this world there is a mixture of good and bad, but in the kingdom of God none are bad, but all good; but in hell none are good, but all bad; and either place is supplied from the middle one." No mention of purgatory here, nor the slightest allusion to it elsewhere in the tract, either to establish or deny its existence; and why? because the author had never heard of it. The canon alluded to declares thus of the soul of man; "Neither can the archangel lead it to life until the Lord have judged it, nor the devil transport it to hell until the Lord have condemned it;" here again the silence of the canon respecting purgatory, on such an occasion, manifests that its existence had not been as yet imagined. These do-

cuments, if issuing from St. Patrick, prove his opinion on these subjects to have been as has been stated; and if they be not his, they are still the composition of the teachers of the very early Irish church, and demonstrate that they did not as yet inculcate the doctrine of a purgatory. There is a canon of a Synod of St. Patrick, which is more generally believed to be genuine than the last referred to, and which is headed thus—"Ch. xii. de oblatione pro defunctis:"—this has been adduced by Roman Catholic historians of Ireland, as an authority for the use, by the first Christians of that country, of "prayer for the dead;" but certainly without any warrant whatsoever. For, besides that the words of the canon are negative and prohibitory, they refer, not to prayers for the dead, but to that custom in the primitive church, of celebrating the anniversary day of the death of martyrs, by publicly praising God for those who had glorified him by their sufferings and death; by hearing the history of their martyrdom, and a sermon in commemoration of their patience and Christian virtues; in short, by offering up prayers and thanksgivings accompanied with oblations, which were for the most part distributed in alms to the poor:* such were these "oblationes pro *defunctis*," oblations of thanksgivings for the *deceased;* and very different indeed from the prayers for the dead, "pro mortuis," of which we read in later times. It is impossible in this place not to reprobate, in terms

* Sermon of Pet. Chrysylogus, on the martyrdom of St. Cyprian, A.D. 258.

of honest indignation, those Irish Ecclesiastical historians of the Roman Catholic religion, whom even Mr. Moore has blindly followed in their misquotations, for the unfaithfulness with which they extract from Tertullian upon this subject. They adduce his authority for the use of prayers for the dead, where he says, as they represent it, *. "Oblationes pro defunctis annuâ die facimus;" omitting the most important words, "pro natalitiis," which makes the sentence truly to run thus—"Oblationes pro defunctis pro natalitiis annuâ die facimus,"—"we make annually oblation for the deceased for their birthdays;"—"birthdays," as Chrysologus exclaims, "not to the earth in the flesh, but from earth to heaven, from labour to repose, from temptation to rest, from tortures to delights, from the scorn of the world to the crown and to glory. Such are the birthdays of the martyrs that we celebrate." †

The ancient Irish Christians did not hold the doctrine of transubstantiation, nor did they forbid the use of the cup to the people; for this doctrine and this practice, as now declared by the church, are confessedly modern; and of course were unknown to them. Of the first Erasmus informs us thus, in 1 Cor. vii. "In synaxi transubstantionem

* De Coron. Militis, c. 3.

† These are again thus spoken of by St. Chrysostom, in his 4th Homily of the Epistle to the Hebrews. "Do not we praise God and give thanks to him, for that he hath now crowned him that is departed; for that he hath freed him from his labours?" &c. "are not the hymns for this end?"—"all these be tokens of rejoicings." And such were also the annual birthday offerings of Tertullian; and such the oblationes pro defunctis, the oblations for the departed, of the Irish canon.

seró definivit Ecclesia"—it was late when the church declared transubstantiation in the communion. It was not introduced indeed into it until the second Council of Nice, A.D. 787; and the very decree of the council of Constance, which, in the year 1415, forbids the cup to the people, declares it in these words,—"although in the *primitive* church this sacrament was received by the faithful under both kinds," &c. The original practice in Ireland is sufficiently clear from a canon of the penitential of St. Columbanus, of the date of the year 600, or somewhat earlier; from which Mr. Moore is constrained to allow, that "it would certainly appear, that, before the admission of this rule, novices had been admitted to the cup."

It is also undeniable that the ancient Irish clergy were permitted to marry: the father of St. Patrick himself is recorded to have been Calphurnius, a deacon, and his grandfather Potitus, a priest; and if, as some have asserted, but without proof, his birth was previous to the ordination of his parents, this canon of his church, either really passed in one of his synods, or else nearly cotemporaneously with him, and received as a rule in the early Irish church, proves the practice at the time of its enactment.—It is a law to regulate the dress of the wives of priests &c; and enacts thus—"Quicunque clericus, ab hostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sine tunicâ visus fuerit &c. et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit; pariter a laicis contemnentur, et ab ecclesiâ separentur."

The abstinence, confessions, absolutions, penances, of the early Irish, and also their views and usages with respect to the other peculiar sacraments of the modern Roman Church, were in many points different, especially in the principle professed, from that which she now inculcates. The rule of St. Columbanus is "every day to fast and every day to eat,"—"because this is true discretion, that the power of spiritual proficiency might be obtained by abstinence."* Their confession was as is thus described, being publicly made—"coram omnibus qui ibidem erant peccata sua confessus est."† Absolution was declared in this manner: "Rise up, son, and be comforted; thy sins which thou hast committed are forgiven; *because, as it is written,* a contrite and humbled heart, God doth not despise." Their penance was "no sacrament," by which "we receive forgiveness of those sins committed after baptism," but a testimony of the sincerity of repentance; not a temporal punishment after the forgiveness of the sin, but enjoined the penitent after confession, that, as Bede declares it, "confessa dignis Pœnitentiæ fructibus abstergerent." But, for a fuller opening of this subject, I must further refer to that which Primate Ussher has published concerning it, and to the subsequent writings of others; from all which it is sufficiently manifest, that the tenets of the early Christians of Ireland, before the year 600, or previously to the Pontificate of Gregory the great, and his mission of St. Austin into

* C. 5. † Adam. vita St. Columbæ. Lib. I. C. 16.

Britain, were almost entirely such as modern Protestants have received, and not invented; and very different indeed from the peculiar doctrines of modern Rome, as they are set forth upon the authority of the Council of Trent.

It does indeed appear to me, that some of the very circumstances that are rested on by Roman Catholics now, as evidencing the dependence of the Irish Church upon the See of Rome, at the time of the invasion of Henry II, or in the twelfth century, manifest that it had not previously existed. Thus the letters of Gillibertus, exhorting to an unity of liturgy; and his very office of *first* general legate from the Pope to Ireland, exhibit innovation on the part of Rome. The letters of Lanfranc, and of Anselm, both of them Archbishops of Canterbury of that age—the first interfering with a complaint of the customary mode of baptising infants without the chrism, the other advancing his protest against the universal practice of electing Bishops—shew clearly that the then Church of England, which was entirely popish, endeavoured to bring that of Ireland into a conformity with it that did not as yet exist. Doctor King, Archbishop of Dublin, in one of his letters to the Primate of England, remarks*—"By the original contract between the people of Ireland and Henry II, on the submission of this kingdom, it was one of the conditions, that the Irish Church should conform to that of England in all divine

* Bishop Mant's History of the Irish Church, vol. ii, p. 338.

things—" Quod omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ eo modo tractentur : " a condition which implied as much previous liberty to have existed here in the matter of religion, as the Irish nation formerly possessed in temporal matters. The very acts recorded by St. Bernard of St. Malachy, the Primate of Armagh in the middle of the twelfth century—his suing for the palls at Rome; his erecting of Cashel into an Archiepiscopal See; his complaints of heterodox usages in Ireland, and his appealing, in an unprecedented way, for remedies of these to the Pope—all of them denote a foregone conclusion; and demonstrate much variance and independence in the existing Irish Church, although they also demonstrate a ready pliancy in it to subjection. We may add further to the facts, of their having been no archiepiscopal pall sent hither from Rome, until this occasion in the year 1151;* and of Gillibertus being appointed about the same period, the first general legate from the Pope to Ireland; this further truth, that the Romish See did not previously interfere in such matters as provisions or appeals; and that it was not until the year 1206, under the dastardly and purchased permission of the contemptible Prince John, that the first precedent of the former was permitted to be introduced.

The introduction of Popery into Ireland was altogether gradual, and by almost imperceptible

* Bernard's Life of Mal. c. xi.

degrees; but, certainly, in the seventh century it possessed much influence in the island. It then accomplished its first victory in the contest respecting Easter; an unfortunate occasion, for, as the Romanists were in the right upon the particular question, it gave them a great vantage ground in the discussion of others more important, and in which they were in error. Their progress was rapid and substantial; but yet we can observe scintillations issuing from the dying embers of ancient and purer fire, even in the obscurity of the tenth century; and it was not until the Pope and Henry II. combined together to destroy the temporal and spiritual independence of the island, that we can pronounce it to be exclusively Roman Catholic. It is of great importance that we should bear this fact in memory. Between that period and the reign of Elizabeth, the spiritual slavery and ignorance of Ireland could hardly have been surpassed. One character of remarkable eminence indeed appeared, and that even in the Primacy of Armagh; one whose particular efforts towards the promotion of true religion in this country were so similar to those of Bedell, that they require especial notice. In the year 1347 there presided over the Irish Church a celebrated personage, Richard Fitz-ralph, known also by the denominations of St. Richard of Dundalk, and Richard of Armagh. He was a prelate of great sanctity; and was so much and so long revered in Ireland, that a fountain in Dundalk, his birth-place, which was associated with his

memory, was held sacred even down to the time of Thomas of Walsingham, his biographer, (A.D. 1633). He was roused by the dreadful profligacy and idleness of the mendicant orders, to preach against them publicly and vehemently, at St. Paul's Cross, London, and at Avignon before the Pope. In the Church of Rome his character was so high, that upon his decease a Cardinal exclaimed, that a pillar of the Church had fallen; and the Pope gave order to have inquiry instituted into the truth of miracles ascribed to him.* He translated the Scriptures into the Irish language; and, previously to his death, caused the MS. to be immured in his Cathedral of Armagh, together with the following inscription—"When this book is found, truth will be revealed to the world, or Christ will shortly appear."† The book is said to have been found, on repairing the Cathedral, about two centuries ago; but if so it was again lost, and most probably forever, to the world.‡ This prelate was a shining light indeed, but such as might have been said to have operated chiefly in making visible the obscurity of his age.

In the celebrated Irish record, the catalogue of

* Foxe's Martyrs, i, 472. † See Bale.

‡ It is, however, interesting to observe, that this book may possibly be still in existence, in some part of Great Britain; for Fox, the celebrated Martyrologist, has the following remarkable passage concerning it. "I credibly hear of certain Irish Bibles, translated long since into the Irish tongue; which, if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this Armachanus." He adds this Note in the margin: "Testified by certain Englishmen, who are yet alive, and have seen it."—Foxe's Martyrs,—Fol. Lond., 1641, Vol. i. p. 542.

the three first orders of Saints, their gradual deterioration is thus described—"Primus sicut sol ardescit, secundus sicut luna, tertius sicut stellæ"—the sun had waned in splendour to the faint lustre of the moon, and again in the progress of time had dwindled to the mere scintillation of stars, but completely set in clouded night when these orders were passed away—a casual meteor might, for a short period indeed, have flitted across the gloom; but, at length darkness so covered the land, and gross darkness the people, that the rays of Divine truth scarcely penetrated this isle of mist; and those which faintly shone there were distorted, or discolored, by the dense medium of ignorance and error which sat thick upon every part of it.

Having exhibited this sketch of Religion, that influential subject in Ireland, in order to set forth its importance in swaying the minds of her native inhabitants, we must look deeper to comprehend why the Protestant Reformation never extended to Ireland, except merely to the Church establishment; certainly not as a great revolution of mind connected with the understandings and feelings of the people. To effect this, no Bibles were circulated, or made accessible to the public, as in Great Britain; spiritual teaching, through the pulpit or any other means, was entirely neglected; the native language was not used as a medium of instruction. The nation was commanded by the English government to become Protestant, and for that very reason remained obstinately Popish. The ancient inhabi-

tants of an island, denominated from time immemorial the "Isle of Saints," glorying in that title, and considering the faith they now professed to have been transmitted, entirely unpolluted, from the holy and venerated men to whom she was indebted for that cherished name, would not easily tolerate a change; and the old Milesian and other original tribes, considering themselves to have been injuriously dispossessed by the Saxon invader of their lands and of their dignities, could not but reject with double horror an offer presented by English hands, and add to their existing vocabulary of aversion the names of heretics and apostates. It was in vain to assert, had any person then thought of the argument, that, in Henry the Second's time, the Saxon was a Romanist, the Pope himself an Englishman; and that never, in all the period of his reign, was that king so subservient to the Papal See, as when he received from it his solemn investiture of a title to invade Ireland; to appropriate and devastate her lands; to degrade and murder her people. The same utter ignorance of facts, which caused the Irish to make their fatal mistake as to their ancient and modern creeds, led them again to confound heresy with England. Well prepared, therefore, by these prejudices, and powerfully headed by their priests, to whom they paid blind and implicit obedience, we cannot imagine a stronger phalanx of opinion against the truth, than that which was arrayed for the defence of Popery in this country. To oppose it, even the impolitic Acts

of Parliament and orders of Council, which were almost exclusively resorted to, were not seconded with energy and wisdom combined; they were at one time imprudently pressed, with a violence that irritated and therefore failed; or, at another, entirely relaxed, with a vacillation that betrayed weakness, and consequently induced disobedience. Their almost total failure, therefore, must be considered as affording another instance of the constant mishap of Ireland—that of participating for many years in little more than in the evils that visited Great Britain—a fate in some degree to be expected; for, besides that, in those ages, the periods of prosperity which occasionally blessed this latter island, seldom lasted so long as to have time to cross the channel; and adversity, like the hurricane, is more rapid in its movements, and abiding in its effects; no nation was ever more unfortunate in its government, both as to temporal and spiritual matters; or has more severely felt, and clearly exhibited, the fatal results of ignorance or indifference in its governors.

When, therefore, Bedell was called upon to exercise his ministry here, the Island was almost entirely popish; and its protestant establishment had as little effect upon the religion of the people, as a chariot lashed upon the deck of a ship has in promoting her course. Its powers, its machinery, might perhaps have been excellent; but it was entirely impotent, and it rested in its fetters above an element, wherein its usefulness could not be exercised, or its value experienced.

We shall now proceed to give a short account of the life of William Bedell, previously to the period when he was first called to labour, in so distinguished a manner as he afterwards did, in Ireland, by attempting to introduce scriptural reform into the creed, and a consequent moral change into the character and conduct, of its inhabitants.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY LIFE OF WILLIAM BEDELL, TO THE PERIOD OF HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE PROVOSTSHIP OF THE COLLEGE OF DUBLIN, AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS RESIDENCE IN IRELAND; A. D. 1570—1628.

WILLIAM Bedell was born in the year 1570, in the parish of Black Notley, in the County of Essex. His family was ancient; and was possessed of a small and respectable estate, which ultimately came by inheritance to his son, upon the death of his elder brother without issue.

The following account of the family property, and of some of its earlier possessors, is given in Morant's History of Essex, Vol ii. p. 67.* "The manor of Bedell's hall," the mansion-house, he describes to be near a cross at the meeting of three ways, called Bedell's cross.

"William Bedell is mentioned in the inquisition, 35 Henry III."

"Richard Bedell held this estate under John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who died in 1360. William Bedell held it in the 8th of Richard II; William Bedell in the reign of Henry VI; and another

* The family arms are here blazoned thus. Sable, 3 Saltiers argent; on a fesse of the 2nd, an escallop between 2 mullets, azure. Crest; on a torse argent and sable, a buck's head gules, attired, or; between the horns a bough of a tree leaved, proper.

William, 7th Henry VIII; William, his son and heir, in the 25th of Henry VIII. He died 3rd Sept. 1535, holding the manor of Bedell's hall of John, Earl of Oxford; Thomas, his son and heir, was then eight years old. Besides this he held a messuage called the Lodge; a messuage and divers lands called the Shekestons; and a messuage called Howchers, in Writtle; of the King, of his manor of Writtle. Inquis. 27 Henry VIII."

Being a younger brother and destined to a learned profession, William Bedell was sent, after having received the usual education of schools, to Emmanuel College in Cambridge; and placed there under the care of Dr. Chadderton, one of the divines who translated the Bible in the reign of James I, and who is styled by Bishop Burnet "that famous and long-lived head of that house." The character of Mr. Bedell appears to have been eminent at the University, for learning, conduct and piety—"nulli secundus." Appeals were frequently made to him, both as to controversies and differences arising there; and the following remarkable testimony was borne to it, by the person by whom he was ordained. It had long been the practice in England, for the Bishops to appoint individuals, who were named Bishops suffragan; and to present them to the king for his approbation, their titles being in partibus infidelium; and, being duly authorized, they conferred orders, confirmed, consecrated, and did all other acts belonging to the office of a Bishop, according to the commission of

their principals. Complaints had been made to the Bishop, of the suffragan of Colchester, who had ordained too many persons; in consequence of which he was threatened that his commission should be taken from him; and in his defence he alleged—"I have ordained abler men than ever the Bishop did, for I have ordained Mr. Bedell." This is a strong proof that he was at the time a person of singularly high character, for all those qualities that were esteemed to be necessary towards the constituting of a distinguished minister of the church. In 1593 he was chosen a fellow of Emmanuel College, and took his degree of B. D. in the year 1599.

From Cambridge he was removed to the town of St. Edmondsbury, in Suffolk, where he exercised the charge of preacher at St. Mary's,* and where he is said to have been for a long time a successful minister of the gospel. His style of preaching is thus quaintly compared with that of another preacher in that place—it was said of him there, "that he made the most obscure places of Scripture very plain," but that his colleague "made the plainest Scriptures obscure." The Bishop of Sarum informs us further, "that the opening of dark passages, and the comparing of many texts of Scripture together,

* His colleague in this office was one Samuel Southeby; who afterwards, "being drawn from his parsonage at Combes, by Bishop Wren, came to Ireland to the Bishop of Kilmore," Bedell, "who, after he had kindly entertained him many months, preferred him to a living in the County of Leitrim, without ceremony, or simony." Taken from an MS. life of the Bishop in the British Museum; written by the Rev. Mr. Clogy, a person who was his intimate acquaintance for the last five years of his life, and married to his step-daughter, in 1637.

with a serious and practical application of them," formed the chief subject of Mr. Bedell's sermons, agreeably with the method of Bishop Ussher, Mr. Mede, and several other eminent men of that day. It is much to be regretted, that none of these, his early discourses, escaped the destruction of the great Rebellion. On one occasion he particularly exhibited in this place that character of Christian firmness and humility united, which he afterwards so fully maintained. The Bishop of Norwich had proposed some things in a convention of his clergy, with which they were in general dissatisfied, but they had not resolution to state their objections against them.; Mr. Bedell, however, undertook to do so, and remonstrated with such prudence and good sense, "that many of these things were let fall." It is pleasing to find the Bishop of Sarum record this instance, of a remonstrance by the inferior clergy to their superior, with evident approbation; and it is to be lamented, that such respectful remonstrances are not more frequently resorted to. All persons high in authority, especially Bishops, are to be commiserated for this, that they are less accessible than others to the details of unbiassed truth; and much that appears, in one raised to the Episcopal Bench, to be dictated by a spirit of arrogance or of pride, should really be considered as the mere result of a just mind, conscientiously following out premises which are founded either in misrepresentation or mistake. In such cases, the greatest possible injustice may be done to a prelate of a candid mind,

surrounded by flatterers, but still anxious to think and to act rightly; by withholding from him facts, which a respectful remonstrance might lay fairly before him. When Mr. Bedell succeeded in his representations with the Bishop of Norwich, his brethren loaded him with extravagant applause; but he checked it by saying, that he desired not the praise of men.

In the year 1604, he was selected, on account of his high character both at Cambridge and at St. Edmondsbury, to accompany Sir H. Wotton as Chaplain on his embassy to Venice. This choice redounds greatly to his credit, for the occasion was one of the most critical character. Several laws had been enacted by the Venetian Senate, to put a restraint upon the extravagant donations to the clergy, which were extorted from superstitious persons; and it had caused two ecclesiastical persons, an abbot and a canon, who had been guilty of the most scandalous vices, to be imprisoned, in order that they might be brought under the cognizance of the law,*—although not until after they had been complained of at Rome, but without obtaining any satisfaction. The ecclesiastics, jealous of this infringement of their immunities, and asserting their independence of secular tribunals, interposed; and the †

* Walton's Life of Sir H. Wotton.

† Fra Paolo commences his History of the Interdict, by the following sketch of the Pontiff's character: (Bedell's Translation into Latin.) "Paulus V. jam indè a primis pueritiæ annis, iis studiis deditus, et innutritus fuit, quibus hoc unum pro scopo est. Monarchiam spiritualem et temporalem orbis terrarum Pontifici Romano acquireri; eo evectumque altius ordinem clericalem principum omnium potestati et jurisdictioni subtrahere; quin et regibus anteferre, suppositis eidem secularibus, in omni tum obsequiorum, tum commodorum genere."

Pope Paul V, a Pontiff of great ambition and pride, espoused their quarrel with such violence, that he issued an interdict against the Venetian Republic. This, however, failed of its effect, and was observed by none but the Jesuits, the Capuchins, and Theatines, who in consequence were banished from the state. The Pope was exceedingly exasperated at this conduct; and a cardinal, the celebrated Baronius, was so profane as to advise him in the consistory thus, —that, as his spiritual sword had failed of effect, he should try what the temporal sword could do:— he told the Pontiff, "that there were two things said to St. Peter; the first was, "Feed my sheep," the other, "Arise and kill;" and therefore, since he had already executed the first part of St. Peter's duty, in feeding the flock, by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without the desired effect, he had nothing left but to arise and kill." That sword could scarcely be said to be in the scabbard, that was thus easily unsheathed; and one is at a loss to determine, which was most unlike the divine sword of the spirit—the hypocritical and spiritual, or the sanguinary and temporal, weapon of the Pontiff. Just at this period, James I. thought it necessary to send Sir H. Wotton as ambassador to the state; Mr. Bedell accompanied him; and some events of exceeding interest in the history of religion at that time occurred, with which he was so intimately connected, that they require a particular detail: they remarkably exhibit his high character for piety and for learning.

There resided at this time at Venice a personage of celebrated name, Paolo Sarpi; or Paul the Servian, also known by the title of Fra Paolo, the author of the History of the Council of Trent, and other justly-esteemed works. Never had any individual more influence in the Venetian Senate than Paolo possessed at this time; it was entirely governed by his councils; by him the Venetians were chiefly animated in their opposition to the Pope; and, when he was in consequence thereof wounded by the stiletto of assassins, who had been set on by the Court of Rome,* they placed a guard about his person, for its protection. Had he spoken the word, Venice had been, at least for the moment, lost to Rome. But the sagacious Vatican had the wisdom to accept of a mediation, by means of which the matter was compromised: the spirit of the Venetians was not ripe, or rather was in no degree prepared for a breach with the Mother Church; subtle intrigue and artifice were quite too deeply rooted in the policy of the state, to be quickly put aside; and the Senate was finally pacified and reconciled to the Holy See. That the juncture, however, was most critical, and the chain of connection worn very slender, appears both from the impotence of the Pontiff, and the dignity with which the Republic compromised the dispute. Although they gave up the two disorderly friars to the church, they would not ask absolution—this farce was acted

* "A loving token sent by his holy father the Pope, by an obedient son of the Church."—Mr. Clogy's MS. Life.

by the Nuncio's making an aerial cross with his finger over, or upon, the cushion on which the Duke sat in the Senate-house, in his absence; and they would not suffer any public demonstrations of joy, nor recal the banished Jesuits. This eminent man was himself entirely undecided; his character with regard to religion was very similar to that of Erasmus, so that Courayer says of him, that like this latter, "il etoit Catholique en gros, et Protestant en detail." They were both of them the most learned and wisest men, and greatest divines, of their respective times; they were both of them disgusted with the superstitions of Romish worship, and would have been pleased at a reformation in the Church; but they were also deficient in moral courage, if not in the sincere desire to attempt it. They were also, both of them, deeply learned in the Scriptures: this fact is well known of Erasmus, but that which we know of him is perhaps surpassed by the earnest study of Fra Paolo, as it is thus testified by Mr. Bedell—"He had read over the Greek New Testament with so much exactness, that, having been used to mark every word, when he had full weighed the importance of it as he went through it, he had, by going often over it, and observing what he had passed over in a former reading, grown up to that at last, that every word was marked of the whole New Testament with his red lead."* Convictions were the consequence of

* "I heard him," says his biographer, Mr. Clogy, in allusion to Bedell's frequent conversations over the Scriptures with Fra Paolo, "also say, that

his laborious study; but, unfortunately, Paolo still halted between two opinions. "In saying of Mass"—such is Burnet's account,—"he passed over many parts of the canon, and in particular those prayers, in which that sacrifice was offered up to the honor of Saints. He never prayed to Saints, nor joined in those parts of the offices that went against his conscience; and, in private confessions and discourses, he took people off from those abuses, and gave them right notions of the purity of the Christian religion: so he hoped he was sowing seeds that might be fruitful in another age; and thus he believed he might live innocent in a Church that he thought so defiled. And, when one prest him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an idolatrous Church, and gave it credit by outwardly adhering to it, by which means others, that depended much on his example, would be likewise encouraged to continue in it, all the answer he made to this was, 'that God had not given him the spirit of Luther.'" Alas, that this should be the case of such a man—so learned, so endowed, so influential! and of one especially of whom Sir Henry Wotton, who knew him well, thus testifies: "He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity, the very pattern of that precept—"Quanto doctior, tantó submissior,"—and enough alone to demon-

when he had shewed the true reading and sense of that often mistated phrase by the Anabaptists, Acts xix. 5,—Ἀκούσαντες δὲ (which they hearing)—that they were a part of the continued speech of Paul concerning John, and not at all the words of St. Luke the historian, that Fra Paolo leaped for joy on the discovery of that text which he never knew before."

strate that knowledge, well digested, "non inflat."—'Oh! that he had submitted himself more to the teaching of that book, in which it appears that he was far from being unlearned; that he had, not merely submitted to its teaching his head, but his heart; and how melancholy is the confession which, with much humility, he has himself made of the truth of his case, that "he had not the spirit of Luther!"

The Roman Catholic writers of the life of Fra Paolo are extremely indignant at the assertions which have been made, respecting the doubts which he entertained in regard to the truth and purity of their church; this was to be expected, and would not be deserving of notice here, were it not that some of them have impugned the authority of Burnet, and of Bedell, upon the subject. And since, were all this to be false, we should not only have to acquiesce in a charge against them of gross deception, but be deprived of a most material testimony to the influence of Bedell's learning and intelligence, as well as of his piety and faithfulness—all of which contributed as we shall see to produce this wavering in the mind of Padre Paolo—it will be necessary shortly to refute the assertions of his biographers, and thus to reestablish the veracity of the authorities upon which the account rests.

Griselini, in his life of that extraordinary man,* cites Burnet's life of Bedell, and accuses the Bishop of Sarum of having been the fabricator of these 'egregious falsehoods.' Upon his authority, he says that

*Ed. Lov. 1760, p. 131.

Bayle and other protestants have taken up from him these stories, and propagated them in their works; and that through them they came to the ears of Bossuet, and laid the foundation of the accusations which this celebrated and holy prelate adduced against Paolo, accusing him that, "sous un froc il cachoit un cœur Calviniste, et il travailloit sourdement a discrediter la Messe quil disoit tous les jours;" an accusation which he has repeated in his "History of the variations of the Protestant Churches." Griselini maintains, that it is quite sufficient to prove the bishop of Sarum to have been false in all this, because he was so, as he alleges, in the account which he gives of the presentation of King James' book to the Venetian state; and this he thinks to establish by proofs of anachronism in the Bishop's narrative, with which it is unnecessary to trouble the reader. He attempts to prove it also by exhibiting the Bishop—"esso Burnet"—this Burnet as he calls him—as one who by his own countrymen is considered to have been a visionary, a writer of party; too credulous, and a fabricator of falsehood—"troppo credulo, et falsificatore"! I leave this argument to refute itself. And, lastly, he asserts, that another of the allegations of Burnet, the intimacy of Fra Paolo with Bedell, was a matter notoriously impossible; for it is well known that it is felony for any councillor of the Venetian state, "consultore del stato," to hold the least communication with even the lowest servants of a foreign minister.—Burnet however was well aware of this fact, and

the right manner of considering its bearing is that which he has expressed in these words—"It must needs raise the character of Bedell much, that an Italian, who, besides the caution that is natural to the country, and the prudence that obliged one in his circumstances to a more than ordinary distrust of all the world, was tied up by the strictness of that government to a very great reservedness with all people, yet took Bedell into his very soul." In fact so highly was Paolo valued by the state, and the Senate did so anxiously arrange every thing to please him, that when, upon the attempt which was made upon his life, they appointed, as has been mentioned, a guard to attend him for his security, and used many precautions in the examination of all who were permitted to approach his person, Bedell was at his express desire exempted from these, and was permitted to have free access to him at all times. These precautions had become absolutely necessary for the safety of Paolo, as several attempts had been made to murder him by violence, or by poison.

This assertion, however, that Fra Paolo dissented from many of the tenets of the Romish church, is not confined to the allegations of Burnet, or of Bayle, or of the Protestant writers who have followed them; neither is it upon the deliberate charge of Bossuet, that the accusation is founded; the fact was notorious at the time.* There is at

* "The Archbishop of Spalata, Antonio de Dominis, says truly of Paolo: "Licet haud libenter illos audiret qui Romanam Ecclesiam nimis deprimunt; nihilominus ab illis etiam abhorrebat qui ejus abusus tanquam sancta instituta defendunt."— Bedell's translation of the History of the Interdict,—Preface.

Geneva, says M. Courayer,* a MS. letter from M. Danqui de Couvrelles to Diodati, dated 4. April 1609, wherein the former remarks, that the reformation had made little progress at Venice, on account of "le peu de hardiesse qu'il y avoit principalement en l'un des pères, (c'est-a-dire Fra. Paolo.)" This, he says, was confirmed by a MS. letter from Bedell to Adam Newton, the tutor of prince Henry, son to James I. wherein, after having remarked, that Paolo did not agree that these persons who had a leaning to reformation should as yet form any assembly, he adds:—"Thus was that deliberation broken off, with this only fruit, that M. Diodati prevailed upon M. Paolo, to put more spirit and courage in him; and to stir him up to avail himself, both of those great graces that God had given him, and that favor and authority which he had with these signors, to the glory of God, in the advancement of the truth." We shall further transcribe from the same writer the following passage, to shew that, beyond a doubt, Bedell reported, and, the Bishop of Sarum recorded, the truth. "Ce recit de Burnet est confirmé par une accusation portée contre Fra. Paolo devant le Nonce, par quelquesuns de ses propres confreres, qui le chargent de ne jamais se confesser, ni lui, ni ses disciples; de ne dire jamais la messe, ni pour les morts, ni a l'honneur de la vierge et des Saints, &c. Les Senateurs chargés d'examiner cette accusation, lui

* Defence de la Nouvelle Traduction de l Histoire de la Conseil de Trent. 12mo. Amst. 1742, p. 42.

defendirent d'administrer les sacremens, &c. C'est dequoi l'on trouve les preuves dans quelques papiers de la Chancellerie Ducale, et dans les bibliotheques de Chevalier Contarini et de Veniers ; et ce qui montre, a ce qui paroit aussi clairement qu'on peut le souhaiter, que Fra. Paolo etoit un Protestant declaré, et qu'on avoit raison a Rome de le regarder comme telle "—a conclusion which goes much farther than the assertions of Burnet, Bedell, or Bossuet, on the subject ; yet justified by the facts, if that be true which has been put forth in Ireland, by the highest authority*—that "the man who would prefer his own private judgment to that of the entire church, and would reject as untrue that which it declares to have been revealed, would, by the very fact, become a Protestant."

It is material for us to establish the point in question, because there is no doubt, that any improvement that took place in this eminent man's views of religion, owed its confirmation, perhaps its origin, to Bedell. The following words of Sir H. Wotton, in his letter to Charles I. written in recommendation of Bedell to the office of Provost of Dublin College, are conclusive of this ; these testify, that Paolo did communicate to him the inwardest thoughts of his heart ; "and that he professed to have received from him more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had practised in his days." To his intercourse, therefore, with Bedell, we must attri-

* Doctor Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin : See his letters in a late controversy with the Rev. Rob, Mc. Ghee.

bute, the greater part of the reforming principles, which had to a great degree established themselves in the mind of Paolo.

The intimacy between these two celebrated persons contributed much to their mutual instruction and improvement. Paolo assisted Bedell in acquiring the Italian language, in which he made such proficiency that, as Fra. Paolo testified to the English Ambassador, he spoke it like a native of Italy, and frequently wrote his sermons in it for the improvement of his style. Some of these he composed in Latin, "as therein none did excel him since Erasmus brought in the purity of it." On his part he actually compiled a grammar of the English, for the aid of Paolo in his study of that tongue; he also translated for him the English Common Prayer-book into Italian. The following fact relating to this translation will exhibit what progress the principles of Reformation had made in the mind of Paolo, and the near approach of Venice towards a breach with Rome. Paolo and the seven divines, who were appointed by the State to oppose, by preaching and writing, the Pope's authority, were so well pleased with the book, that they determined to make it their pattern, in case their differences with the Pope should really lead to the expected results. It appears that the two friends had long and frequent discourses on religious subjects, and that Paolo received Bedell's explanations of difficult passages in the New Testament, with the delight of one who valued above all things the discovery of divine

truth. Bedell also instructed the seven divines, "whereof Fulgentius was chief, whose sermons against the Pope are yet extant, printed in Italian; though upon the pacification they and all such writings were called in, and anathematized."

The disappointment of Paolo at the reconciliation of Venice to Rome was so great, as if their disruption from the See were a point that he had been for a long time seriously labouring to accomplish, that he greatly desired to leave Venice, and to go to England with Bedell; together "with many others, that were loath to return to their Egyptian darkness and bondage: but the State would not part with him upon any terms; he being esteemed the right eye, and lively oracle of that state till his death." Paolo therefore parted from him with the tenderest regret; gave him his picture, with an Hebrew Bible, and a little Psalter in the same tongue, containing some sentences which he had written in it, expressive of his esteem and friendship for him, "subscribed with his heart and hand." He gave him likewise the MS. of the History of the Council of Trent, and the History of the interdict and of the inquisition; together with several other works which most probably were destroyed, with Bedell's papers, at the period of the great rebellion in Ireland. Among these Dr. Burnet conjectures that there probably was a collection of letters, sent to Fra Paolo weekly from Rome, during the contests between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of Grace.

During the time of the Interdict a very extraordinary event took place, which had its origin in a curious discovery of Mr. Bedell, and which then created much sensation throughout all Italy; the account of it is given by himself, in his letters to Mr. Waddesworth. "In the year 1608. F. Thomas Maria Caraffa, of the order of Friars-preachers, and a Jesuit, reader of philosophy in Naples, printed a thousand theses in Philosophy and Divinity, to be disputed thrice. These were all included in the form of a tower, and dedicated to the reigning Pope Paulus V. On the top of this tower was an altar, and in the midst of it the Pope's picture, with this inscription underneath—"Paulo V. Vice Deo, Christianæ Reip. Monarchæ Invictissimo, Et Pontificiæ Omnipotentiæ Conservatori Acerrimo." "To Paul V. the VICE-GOD, the most invincible Monarch of the Christian Republic, and most zealous assertor of Pontifical Omnipotency." "The copies of these theses," says Bedell, "were sent as novels from Rome; and did the more amuse men at Venice, because of the controversy that State had with the Pope a little before, and their seeing their Duke's *Corno* hanged up, among his trophies, under all the Princes' crowns. But, most of all, the new title, VICE-DEO, and the addition of OMNIPOTENCY, gave matter of wonder. The next day it was noised about the city, that this was the picture of Antichrist, for that the inscription PAULO V VICE DEO. 5 50 5 5 1 100 500 contained exactly the number of the Beast." This

discovery was made by Mr. Bedell, although he passes over the mention of that fact in his letter, from motives of modesty. It was communicated by him to Paolo and the seven divines, and by them laid before the Duke and Senate of Venice. "It was entertained," says Burnet, "almost as if it had come from heaven, and it was publicly preached over all their territories, that there was a certain evidence, that the Pope was Antichrist; and it is likely this was promoted by them, more because they found it took with the Italians, than that they could build much upon it: though it was as strong as the like computation from the Greek word, λατεινος, upon which some of the ancients laid some weight. This flew so over Italy, that, lest it should take too much among the people, the Pope caused his emissaries to give it out every where, that Antichrist was now born in Babylon, and was descended of the tribe of Dan; and that he was gathering a vast army, with which he intended to come and destroy Christendom; and therefore all Christian Princes were exhorted to prepare all their forces for resisting so great an invasion: and with this piece of false news, that was given out very confidently, the other conceit was choked." Such is the account given of this extraordinary transaction; it serves to demonstrate the truth of all that has been asserted of the influence of Mr. Bedell, and the part which he took at the time, in the interesting occurrences of that district of Italy.

The breach between the Pope and the Venetian

state had been brought so very near to a crisis, that, upon King James' accusing "the Pope and the Papacy as the chief authors of all the mischiefs of Christendom," and the papal Nuncio replying, that "King James was not a Catholic: and therefore not to be relied on;" Paolo and the seven divines pressed Bedell to procure the English ambassador, to present to the Senate his Majesty's "Premonition to all Christian Princes," which they were confident would produce great effect. Wotton for some reason deferred acquiescing in this until St. James' day: in the mean-time the reconciliation with Rome was effected, and, when he did present the book to the Senate, they thanked the King for it; but declared "that they were now reconciled to the Pope; and that therefore they were resolved not to admit of any change in their religion, according to their agreement with his Holiness." The conduct of Wotton on this occasion gave Bedell much pain; and his biographer mentions it as the only occasion of his being displeased with the ambassador; he adds the following curious anecdote. "I never heard that he displeased the Lord Ambassador in any thing save this one. The Ambassador had an ape that upon a time slipped his chain, and got out, and bit a child very sore; the Venetian mother brought the child to the Ambassador's lodging with great fury and rage, in so much that she alarmed his whole family. Dr. Bedell, his chaplain, said his Lordship was bound in conscience to make satisfaction; and that it was a slander to

our religion to keep such harmful beasts, and not repay the damage: Who answered angrily, that he wished he was as sure of the kingdom of heaven; —and that he had as good a conscience as another, &c."

While he was at Venice, Mr. Bedell became acquainted with some other distinguished personages; there was one in particular who afterwards was well known in England, and much spoken of every where—the celebrated Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalata, or Spalatro. He was a man of great understanding and learning, but of much ambition and exorbitant vanity; and it is strong evidence of the authority and intelligence of Mr. Bedell, that such a person should, when he consulted him on his celebrated work, 'De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ,' which he afterwards printed at London, have received in good part the numerous suggestions which Bedell found it necessary to make, in order to correct his misapplications of texts of Scripture and quotations from the Greek fathers, arising from his ignorance of that language. De Dominis, however vain, was so far from being displeased with this, that he used to say, that he could do nothing without Mr. Bedell. The history of this Prelate is striking and affecting. Antonio de Dominis was for fourteen years Archbishop of Spalatro, and Primate of Dalmatia and Croatia; under the Venetian state. He was a person of a vigorous mind, highly appreciated, and much employed by the Jesuits in their colleges; he possessed considerable and vari-

ous talents, for, besides his mathematical knowledge (evidenced by his discoveries concerning the rainbow, and his treatise "*De radiis visus et lucis*"), and his other acquirements, he was well versed in the writings of the Fathers, and the history of the Church. He was led, by his researches into Ecclesiastical annals, to discover, that there was no foundation for the Pope's claim to Supremacy; and this conviction, ripened by his conversations with Bedell, and assisted by other motives which his subsequent conduct make us doubt to have been the purest, induced him to secede from the Romish church. He accompanied Mr. Bedell on his return to England from Italy; and preached and wrote there against the Romish Religion. He was received with marked attention by the King, the Prelates, and the Clergy of England; was preferred to the Mastery of the Savoy, and afterwards to the Deanery of Windsor. * One remarkable fact was connected with his visit, which was, that in Dec. 1617, he assisted at the consecration of some bishops in Lambeth palace—a circumstance of importance towards the continuance of Apostolical succession in the Church of England, and worthy to be noted by those who doubt the regularity of the consecrations by Archbishop Parker. The Bishop of Sarum concludes his account of De Dominis thus, from the words of Mr. Bedell; "He was an ambitious man, and set too great a value on himself, and expressed it so indecently, that he sunk much in

* Rapin, Vol. ix. p. 378.

the estimation of the English Clergy, by whom he was at first received with all possible respect; but, after he had stayed some years in England, upon the promotion of Pope Gregory the XIV. that had been his school-fellow and old acquaintance, he was made believe," by the Spanish Ambassador Gundamor, the Machiavelli of his time, "that the Pope intended to give him a Cardinal's Hat, and to make great use of him in all affairs; so that he fancied that he should be the instrument of a great reformation in the church." "Thus," as Bedell was heard to say, "he was cozened out of England, and out of his religion, and at last out of his life."* "His pride made him too easy to flatter himself with these vain hopes; and the distaste some of the English Clergy had taken at him for his ambition and covetousness, gave Gundamor great advantages in the conduct of that matter; for his mind, that was blown up with vanity, and sharpened with resentment, was easily wrought on, so that he, believing that the promises made would not only be performed, but that he might be the instrument of bringing about a great change, even at Rome, went thither. He was at first well received by the Pope himself: but he happened to say of Cardinal Bellarmine, that had written against him, that he had not answered his argument; upon which the Cardinal complained of him to the Pope as if he had been still of the same mind, in which he was when he published his books. He excused

* MS. Life.

himself, and said, that though Bellarmine had not answered his arguments, yet he did not say they were unanswerable; and he offered to answer them himself, if they would allow him time for it. But this excuse was not accepted; so he was cast into the Inquisition, but was never brought to any trial." He was poisoned not long after. It is not, however true, as this narrator asserts, that his body was cast out of a window; but it was excommunicated after his death, and was buried in the field of Flora, while all his goods were confiscated to the Pope. "This was the tragical end of that great, but inconsistent man. In his fate it appeared, how foolishly credulous vanity makes a man; since he that was an Italian born, and knew the court of Rome so well, could be wrought on so far, as to believe that they were capable of pardoning and promoting him, after the mischief he had done their cause." His death was much lamented by Bedell.

A more interesting character with whom Mr. Bedell became acquainted at Venice, was Diodati, the translator of the Bible into the Protestant version of the Italian language; a most excellent translation, and so highly prized by Mr. Bedell, that he used it always in making his collations of the version of the Old Testament into the Irish tongue, which he afterwards undertook. Diodati entertained for him the highest esteem; and, when he visited London many years after, made diligent inquiry about him, especially "in all the Bishops' company that he lighted on." But Mr. Bedell,

who then lived retired, in humble exercise of his ministry at Horningshearth, was not to be heard of. Diodati was much surprised, that a person so admired, and by such celebrated individuals at Venice, should be so little known at home—" he could meet with none among the clergy that knew him, or had heard of his name; so that he despaired of ever coming to the knowledge of him here." They however met accidentally in the Cheapside; and Diodati " embraced him with all the joyful affection imaginable, until they both shed many tears;" he afterwards presented Bedell to Doctor Morton, Bishop of Durham,* by whom he was greatly esteemed.

While at Venice, Mr. Bedell much improved his knowledge of Hebrew, and made some progress in Rabbinical learning; his teacher was Rabbi Leo, the chief Shacham of the Jewish synagogue there. With this person also he seems to have formed a friendship, and he endeavoured to turn their intercourse to the best account. He frequently communicated to the Rabbi the true meaning of passages of the Old Testament, which he received with satisfaction; and once in a solemn dispute, he so pressed upon him and his brethren the passages which proved that Jesus was the true Messiah, that he

* This prelate's life was remarkable;—he was celebrated among other things for his Book of Sports, which he wrote by the desire of King Charles I. His object was to oppose the Puritans, and to prove the innocence of certain recreations on Sundays. He was consecrated Bishop of Durham, A.D. 1632; and, having suffered much from confiscations and imprisonment, in the time of the commonwealth, he died in the year 1659, just before the Restoration, at the great age of 95.

drove them, as their only last resource, to the tradition of their fathers, as an authority for their manner of expounding the prophecies concerning Him.* Through the means of this Rabbi, Mr. Bedell purchased a fine MS. of the Old Testament, which was afterwards presented to Emmanuel College, Cambridge; it is said to have cost him its weight in silver.

Mr. Bedell on his return to England, after eight years' residence in Venice, brought with him, together with the Archbishop of Spalatro, a physician named Despotine, who, disgusted with the corruptions of Romish worship, came over to breathe "a freer air." He went to live near his patron in St. Edmondsbury, was introduced by him into practice, and became eminent in his profession. Mr. Bedell himself retired in humility to his ministerial labours in that place, and "was received with wonderful expression of joy, by all sorts of people;" without seeking for preferment, he employed himself entirely in the ministry of the gospel, and in translating Fra Paolo's writings into Latin. The two first books of the History of the Council of Trent had been rendered into that language, by Sir Adam Newton, the two last were now done by him; these were much approved of by the Archbishop of Spalatro, who said of Newton's part, that it was not the same work. Mr. Bedell also trans-

* "Aliter credunt, et ubiqui terrarum docent, Rabbani nostri, ex traditione "patrum,"—MS. Life. This biographer adds, "I heard him often mention "this Rabbi Leo in reading the original, and say—my master Rabbi Leo "said thus."

lated into the same tongue, the history of the Interdict and of the Inquisition. These he published and dedicated to the king.

Occupied in these humble walks of ministry and of literature, he passed several years, during which he " married Leah, a person comely, virtuous, and godly, whose maiden name was L'Estrange, the widow and relict of Robert Maw, Esquire, sometime Recorder of St. Edmondsbury; by whom he had three sons, William, John, and Ambrose; and one daughter called Grace,* who, with her brother John, died younger. She bare four children to her former husband—Nicholas, Robert, Leah, and Edward, who with his sister came to Ireland."†

His long seclusion is attributed, by the Bishop of Sarum, to motives the most Christian, which kept him from stooping " to those servile compliances, that are often expected by those that have the distribution of preferment in their power. He thought that was an abjectness of spirit, that became not a Christian Philosopher, much less a Churchman, who ought to express a contempt of the world, a contentedness with a low condition, and a resignation of one's outward circumstances wholly to the conduct of divine providence; and not to give that advantage which Atheists and Libertines take, from the covetousness and aspirings of some Churchmen, to scoff at religion, and to

* Her burial is thus registered at Horningshearth, in Bedell's handwriting, " 1624, Grace, the daughter of William Bedell, the five-and-twentieth April."

† MS. life in Brit. Mus.

call Priesthood a trade." At length Sir Thomas Jermyn,* of Ryshbrooke ; a gentleman of eminent note in Suffolk, a privy counsellor, and a Vice-Chamberlain to the king ; and, what was still more honourable, a great patron of piety and virtue, took a liking to him, treated him with particular esteem, and presented him to a considerable living that was in his gift, and which became vacant in 1615. This was the parsonage of Horningshearth in Suffolk. Mr. Bedell upon this occasion exhibited a peculiar example of that spirit of independence, combined with the strictest conscientiousness, for which he was throughout his entire life most remarkable. On his taking out his title to the living, the Bishop of Norwich demanded large fees for his institution and induction ; but, Mr. Bedell refused to pay more than was sufficient to cover the expenses of writing, wax, and parchment. "The Bishop asked why he did refuse to pay what was demanded, which others did pay ? he said it was simony, and contrary to Christ's and the Apostle's rule—"freely ye have received, freely give,"—and, being asked what was simony ? he answered it was vendere spiritualia spiritualibus, —to sell spiritual things to spiritual persons ;—a sin both in the giver and the taker." The practice was against the

* His "father, Robert Jermyn *miles*, was a person of singular piety, a bountiful benefactor to Emmanuel College, and a man of great command in his country, as Fuller writes of him in his History of the worthies. His son Sir Thomas was a lover of the best of men, and did glory much in this, that he had preferred to his benefice the most famous and eminent divine in all their coasts." See Mr. Clogy's Narrative.

primitive rules; and was reprobated by a council, that of Chalcedon, which severely condemned, not only all ordinations for money, but the taking of it for any employment that depended on a Bishop's gift; the penalty indeed was apparently not according to the strict requirement of justice, for the buyer was to lose his degree, the seller to be only in danger of it. After this, severe censures were decreed against presents that might be made to bishops, or any other expences incurred upon the occasion of ordinations; and, even in the council of Trent, it was decreed, "that nothing should be taken for letters dimissory, the certificates, the seals, or upon any such ground, by the Bishops, or their servants, even though freely offered." Mr. Bedell therefore, rather than participate in what he considered to be simony, refused the payment of the fees demanded, and returned to his home. The Bishop, however, after a few days sent for him, and gave him his title without requiring the fees. He was consequently inducted, and removed to Horningshearth; where he remained for twelve years, "a great honor," as Burnet testifies, "to the church, as well as a pattern to all churchmen. His habit," he adds, "and way of living was very plain, and becoming the simplicity of his profession. He was very tender of those that were truly poor, but was so strict in examining all vagabonds, and so dexterous in discovering counterfeit passes, and took such care of punishing those that went about with them, that they came no more to him, nor to his town."

While Mr. Bedell was residing in this place, where it is probable that many an event occurred now only known to the omniscient God, but which then marked the daily path of a hallowed minister of the gospel, he shewed forth his zeal for the truth in a controversy with the Reverend James Waddesworth, who had been "bred in the same college, chosen scholar at the same election, lodged in the same chamber, after, a minister in the same diocese." This individual had been educated at Emmanuel College with Bedell, and Mr. Joseph Hall, who was afterwards Bishop of Norwich. They had been constant companions; and, upon the appointment of chaplains to three embassies sent out at the same period of time, the three friends were chosen—Mr. Bedell to accompany Wotton, Mr. Hall for France and Mr. Waddesworth was sent into Spain.

He was there appointed to teach the Infanta the English tongue, previously to her projected marriage with the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I; and, having been prevailed on to change his religion, he abandoned his country, and received a pension from the Holy Inquisition. Mr. Bedell appears to have had much affection for this deluded man; he writes to him in truly kind terms —"My loving friend, or if you refuse not that old Catholic name, my dear brother;"—and expresses his grief at his death, as for the loss of a friend. His letters were not without effect upon Waddesworth's mind. Mr. Clogy, in his memoir in the British Museum, alludes to them in these words,

"Dr. Bedell answers and refutes all that he could say, so solidly and convincingly; and in so pacific a style, that I have reason to believe it prevailed with him to his final recovery. For, after many years, his son came from Spain into Ireland, to my Lord of Kilmore's house, and told him, that his father thanked him for his book, and that he delighted much in it, and that it was ever before him; and that he heard him say these words, 'I will save one.'"—alluding perhaps to his determination to educate his son in the protestant faith, although he never returned to it himself. "This young man," it is added, "wrote that English tract called 'The English Spanish pilgrim.'" The book that was written by Mr. Bedell was printed in London, A.D. 1624; and dedicated to Charles I, then Prince of Wales: it will be found reprinted at the end of Bishop Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell. The work is entitled—"The copies of certain letters, which have passed between Spain and England, in matter of religion, between Mr. J. Waddesworth, a late pensioner of the holy inquisition in Seville, and William Bedell, a minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Suffolk." It consists of the dedication, in which he mentions, as a matter of great grief to him, the recent death of Waddesworth; and ten letters, bearing date between April 1, 1615, and October 22, 1622. The first of these contains, at length, the motives of Mr. Waddesworth to Roman obedience; and the 10th, the refutation of them, in still fuller detail. That

from Mr. Waddesworth commences with the following affectionate words. "I could not omit, by these hasty scribbled lines, to signify unto you the continuance of my sincere love, never to be blotted out of my breast, (if you kill it not with unkindness, like Mr. Joseph Hall,) neither by distance of place, nor success of time, nor difference of religion."—The intermediate letters, except two which are to and from Mr. Hall, contain short correspondences between Bedell and Waddesworth, and are only material so far as they fully exhibit the different spirit of the parties.* Mr. Hall had written sharply to Waddesworth, and spared not to apply to him the names of Apostate, and such like; to this he had received a sharp reply. Bedell considered it necessary to rebuke Mr. Hall for this, and accordingly addressed him thus—"Now, Sir, that which I would intreat of you is this; you know the spirit of the Apostle touching them that are fallen—lend me your hand to set him in joint again—Write a letter to him." (Waddesworth), "in the character Βλασφημόυμενοι παρακαλοῦμεν. Who can tell what God may work? Surely at least we shall heap coals of fire upon his head." Again.—"The kind usage of his ancient friends may perhaps bring him in love with his country again," &c. How much is there here manifested of the tender, truly christian, spirit of Paul, ad-

* Of the letters between Bedell and Waddesworth, Isaac Walton, the author of the life of Wotton, writes in the following strain of well-merited eulogy:—"In them there seems to be a controversie, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness; which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in Book war."

dressing the Corinthians thus—(2 Cor. ii. 7.) "Ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow; wherefore I beseech you, that ye would confirm your love toward him." What a lesson also to controversalists! may it not reasonably be questioned, whether one great cause of the failure of controversy in general be not this, that it is almost always conducted as a contest for victory, not a discussion for the establishing of the truth;—an opportunity taken for self-exaltation, and the debasement of an adversary, in direct opposition to the principle of the Apostle, "in honor preferring one another?" These remarks are important at such a period as the present, and the example of Bedell in this particular cannot be too strongly urged. If Waddesworth was not convinced by Mr. Bedell of his error—and who that has read what is above reported of him, but must think it probable that he was so at the last—his son was preserved from following his footsteps: and, in after life, as we shall presently see, this manner of Bedell was eminently successful under circumstances the most discouraging; so that it may be truly asserted, that he was the means of converting more popish clergymen to the protestant faith, than ever did any bishop, or minister, of that persuasion in Ireland. It should be added, that he was firm in this contest, although so gentle withal; indeed, he commences it with laying it down as his duty, "to fight for the faith once

delivered to the saints." We shall add but one extract more from Mr. Waddesworth's letters, to manifest Bedell's meekness and charity, and to prove their value in this correspondence. "Worthy sir, I was exceeding glad to perceive, by your kind, modest and discreet letters, that you are still permanent in your own good nature, and constant in your love to me; not like Mr. Joseph Hall, neither bitterly reviling, nor flourishing impertinently. Unto whom I pray you *return* his scoffing railing letter, with these few marginal notes. When your reply unto my plain and few reasons come, I will, *for your sake*, read them over; and *return you some such short rejoinder*, as it shall please Almighty God to enable me." Thus the letter of Mr. Hall provoked to angry obstinacy, the other to kind investigation—the one was returned to the writer; the other retained, ever open before the person to whom it was addressed.

It is not necessary to make any comment on Mr. Bedell's argument; it is temperate, * learned, and convincing. "I know not any thing," says Mr. Clogy, "that ever was written against Popery, that will yield more true satisfaction to a rational mind—the effect of which was well known in Ireland, to the conversion of many Irish and English papists." It is directed against twelve theses of Mr. Waddesworth, relating, as has been said, to his motives for joining the Church of Rome.

* Dean Bernard, in his character of Bedell, (although at one time his angry opponent,) bears a generous testimony to the "temper and meekness of style" of these letters.

In reference to the situation of neglect in which Mr. Bedell was permitted for many years to remain, as a mere rector of a country parish, Bishop Burnet assigns two causes which obstructed his preferment—the first, that "he was a Calvinist in the matter of decrees and grace, and preferments went generally to those that held the other opinions." This denomination of party can in justice be applied to Bedell in that loose sense alone, in which it has so often been bestowed upon orthodox and evangelical ministers of the present day, who are often, in complete ignorance, denominated methodists also—he himself, indeed, afterwards complained in a letter to the Primate Ussher, that he was stigmatised as an Arminian. But, in truth, he was no rigid follower of the Genevese reformer, much less did he subscribe to the low doctrines of Arminius—"I am sorry," he says, in one of his letters,* "that Arminianism finds such favour in the low countries and among ourselves."—In this Epistle, one of his correspondence with Dr. Samuel Ward on the subject of Infant Baptism, his views regarding these disputed and opposite doctrines are clearly exhibited, as at once moderate and orthodox; and, in his letters to Mr. Waddesworth, he seems to deprecate the vague use and application of these names, as laying the foundation of the Romanist clamor of disunion in the protestant church of Christ—"Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists," he writes, "are not

* Parr's Life of Ussher, App. Let. 163.

known among us, save by hearsay:" and again—"as for those whom you call Calvinists, how do they differ from the reformed churches of Helvetia, or the church of England, save in the matter of government only?" The testimony of Bishop Burnet, however, and the express words of Bedell above quoted, demonstrate how very much mistaken are those, and they are many, who in this our day consider and represent him as fully agreeing in his religious views with Laud; and that for this reason he was liberally patronized by this influential prelate: but the real truth of the case does more honor to the favorite; for he assisted in the promotion of Bedell to the episcopal bench, not because he was his partisan, but because he had at last received the conviction, that the Provost would be a good Bishop for Ireland. We shall hereafter see that Laud took credit to himself, for his having contributed to the promotion of a person so deserving, on the sole ground of his merit.

Bishop Bedell loved and reverenced * both Laud and Ussher; he enjoyed their patronage, and submitted occasionally to their advice—not as a follower of Arminius, or of Calvin—but as an humble disciple of Christ, to superiors in his Church. It is to be lamented that the opinions of men, respecting eminent and influential persons, are so often prejudiced by the application of those conflicting

* It was very peculiarly the character of Bishop Bedell, to endeavour to live on terms of kindness with all men; but no instance occurs of his compromising the strictest principles of truth in order to obtain this end.

names; which in general are both ignorantly and capriciously bestowed, both with regard to the just meaning of the terms, and their suitableness to the object upon which they are affixed. But this has ever been the case, and will be so always—the disciple of Christ in this world shall fare no better than his master; and he shall ever, if he be his genuine follower, be stigmatized, in like manner as He was, by denominations of a quite contrary and irreconcileable meaning.

The Bishop of Sarum makes mention of the following, as a second cause which impeded the preferment of Mr. Bedell; one in which he was very particular, and which was not acceptable to the persons then in power. "He thought conformity was an exact adhering to the Rubric; and that the adding any new rite or ceremony, was as much nonconformity, as the passing over those that were prescribed; so that he would not use bowings or gesticulations that grew so much in fashion, that men's affections were measured by them. He had too good an understanding not to conclude, that these things were not unlawful in themselves; but he had observed that, when once the humour of adding new rites or ceremonies got into the Church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that bulk, to which we find it swelled in the Church of Rome. He thought also most judiciously, that "the adhering to established laws and rules was a certain and fixed thing; whereas superstition was infinite: so he was against all

innovations, or arbitrary and assumed practices; and so much the more, when men were distinguished and marked out for preferment for that which, in strictness of law, was a thing that deserved punishment. For in the Act of Uniformity, passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, it was made highly penal to use any other rite or ceremony, order or form, either in the Sacraments, or in the Morning and Evening Prayer, than was mentioned and set down in that book. And this was particularly intended to restrain some that were leavened with the former superstition; and yet, for saving their benefices, might conform to the new service, but retain still with it many of the old rites in sacred offices. And it seems our legislators were of the same mind, when the last Act of Uniformity was passed; for there is a special proviso in it—'That no rites or ceremonies should be openly used in any church, other than what was prescribed and appointed to be used, in and by the said book." Bedell therefore used the Rubric, as the measure of his conformity at all times. In his strict attention, indeed, to ritual and ceremonial observances, he was far from affording authority for the teachings of modern "Tractarian" divinity; while it is manifest, that his conscientious submission to the Articles and formularies of the Church, which he had vowed to abide by as its Minister, was quite irreconcileable with that loose and half Romanist reading, which would pervert their literal meaning, by all the whims and assumptions that mental reservation can suggest.

To conclude this view of Mr. Bedell in his pastoral life—his conduct in it is represented as having been most exemplary; he "watched over his flock, like one who knew that he was to answer to God for those souls committed to his charge, so he preached to the understandings and consciences of his parish, and catechised constantly. And, as the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued sermon, so he was very exact in visiting the sick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a sense of religion." While engaged in this humble walk, he was called, suddenly and unexpectedly, to act in a more extended sphere; his fame had spread to Ireland; and, although not personally known there, he was, agreeably with the desire of the celebrated Primate Ussher, chosen by the Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, to become the head of that Seminary. Together with the Letter inviting him to accept of that office, they sent an address, to be presented to the King, praying of his Majesty to command him to do so; and at the same time, Sir Henry Wotton was induced to write to the Monarch the following epistle:—

"May it please your Majesty;

Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. W. Bedell, now

resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk, Governor of your College at Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said W. Bedell, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth, (so far as your Majesty will accept of my poor judgment), to affirm of him, that I think, hardly a fitter man could have been propounded to your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the Church, and zeal to advance the cause of God; wherein his travels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For, may it please your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paolo took (I may say) into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had practised in his days; of which all the passages were well known unto the King your father, of blessed memory. And so, with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office: for the general fame of his learning, his life, and christian temper; and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

Your Majesty's most humble and
faithful Servant,
H. WOTTON."

To this testimony should be added that of an eminent person, Dr. Samuel Ward, of Cambridge; one long and intimately acquainted with Bedell, and with whom he had the learned correspondence upon baptism, which appears, among the Letters published by Parr, at the end of his life of Ussher.* Ward, in a letter addressed to the Primate, dated May 16, 1628, expresses himself thus—"I assure your Lordship I know not where you could have pitched upon a man every way so qualified for such a place. He is a sincere, honest man, not tainted with avarice, or ambition; pious, discreet, wise, and stout enough, 'si res exigat.' He will be 'frugi,' and provident for the College; and, for converse, of a sweet and amiable disposition, and well experienced. In a word, he is 'homo perpaucorum hominum, si quid judico.'. I pray the God of Heaven to bless his coming to you, to the good of your College, and the Church of Ireland."†

* Letters 151, 152, 153.

† It is testified by Dean Bernard, that Mr. Bedell was "sometimes chosen by the Diocese to be a member of Convocation," during the period of his pastoral life.

CHAPTER III.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN IRELAND; AND OF MR. BEDELL'S LIFE, WHILE PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.—A.D. 1628 to 1630.

WE have seen that, at the period when Mr. Bedell was invited to become the head of the University of Dublin, the national feeling was strongly impressed with an aversion to the English dominancy, and even name: this aversion was continually preserved and increased, by the insidious artifices of those who chiefly influenced the people, and by every thing that bad policy could devise, on the part of the nominal rulers of the land. Differences of nation, language and dress, relations of rank, and circumstances of property; demeanour—every thing contributed to make the Saxon Lord to be an object of detestation; and this, even while all the inhabitants of the island professed a common faith; so that, when a reformation in religion was unfortunately presented to the people by their governors, and not preached by the ministers of Christ; it was not only refused, but was marshalled as inimical with the other existing discrepancies: and the native Irish Romanists resisted it with indomitable effort and obstinacy, as an innovation upon what they believed to be the ancient and unsullied faith of their persecuted ancestors.

One obvious, simple, and certain method of neutralizing these prejudices existed; a method which would operate slowly, it is true, but with a sure efficacy in the end: this was, to enlighten the people with respect to their misconceptions; in fine, to educate them; and this, not merely in the English language, but through the medium of their own. Thus would the Holy Scriptures, the pages of history, and other sources of information and instruction, be gradually opened to their view; and truth at length have opportunity to penetrate, and to scatter, the dense mass of prejudice and of delusion.

This method was fortunately resorted to, and the University of Dublin was most happily established. The wise princess, and her still wiser ministers, who laid the foundation of that institution, prepared in it the only proper basis for the superstructure of a national protestant church. It seems to have been the sole overflow of English prosperity that, for several centuries, poured abundantly into this island from the sister country; it has been, from its very commencement, a verdant spot in the midst of a parched wilderness, where somewhat of the peaceful, the refreshing, and the encouraging was ever to be found; and its present state of flourishing prosperity demonstrates the prudent foresight of those who first projected this great measure. But its progress to this state of prosperity has been lamentably tardy; its efficiency has at all times been far short of what it might have been, under regula-

tions more politic and enlarged; and it is still entirely incomplete, in that which appears to have formed a principal object of the founders of the University—the preparing of a protestant ministry for the purposes of spreading the knowledge of scriptural religion, among such of the people as could only be instructed through the medium of their native tongue. Had the successors of Elizabeth given due attention to this seminary, as a nursery even for the merely English Protestant church; and had a more spiritual character than that which until very lately it possessed, been cultivated within it; we should in all probability have been a century ago blessed with the prosperous aspect that we at present behold, and not loitered to the attainment of our present eminence;—but, more particularly, had the original project of preparing a native ministry been adhered to, and wisely encouraged, there is no calculating the immense advantages which might have accrued from such a measure to this island. It is vain to conjecture that, instead of being equal to any part of Christendom in ignorance and superstition and mental slavery, it might have been long since restored to its primitive character of independence, intelligence, and missionary zeal.

It will be proper, in this place, slightly to glance at the state of education at this time in Ireland, with some historical reference to its former condition. It has been the fate of this country, that she has become so exceedingly retrograde, in every point of view, from her state of primitive prosperity, that persons who re-

flect only on her altered situation for the last thousand years, are tempted to consider as fabulous, or merely legendary, all the accounts that are preserved, by history or by tradition, of her former greatness; but those who thus judge from such symptoms do not reason justly. Her case is far from being peculiar. The history of the world presents the view of the total decay, from its original importance, of almost every city, state, and empire of great antiquity, if we make some exception in favor perhaps of the city of Rome. What remains now of Tyre or Carthage? of Babylon or Nineveh? of the national eminence of Egypt, of Greece, of Palestine; of the empires of Rome, of the Caliphs, and of the Moors; with the many others, whose glory is long passed away as the flowers of the field? I mention these in particular, because that, were not the truth of their ancient prosperity put beyond a doubt by unquestionable history, the sceptic, upon the consideration of their present circumstances, might be tempted to deny its possibility altogether. If Ireland then present to us a similar instance, there is no fair reason to suppose any thing imaginary in her ancient civilization, although it be not testified by the same undying records. Her memory does not live for ever in the pages of Scripture—she had not even her Herodotus, or her Livy; her Homer, or her Virgil; but there is no reason why her bards and her annals should not be attended to; there is no reason why they should be disregarded entirely: and, if they be few and jejune, let the havoc of the

Danes and Normans account for it. Again, while the massive remains of Egypt, and the elegant relics of Greece, attest the existence in these countries of more prosperous times, and the civilization of the latter is witnessed by its abiding effects on literature; let us examine and accredit the round towers and the golden reliques of Erin, as witnesses of her former state; and most particularly, let us reflect on the holy records of her missionary labours on the continent, as affording an incontestable proof of her early learning, her zeal, and preeminence in religion.

It is not my intention here to dilate on the pristine grandeur of Ireland, or her proficiency in the arts; nor is this the proper place for shewing forth the purity of her primitive Christian faith; but I shall dwell upon her high character in learning, the best demonstrated of all those advances in civilization, that have been attributed to her. Many circumstances combined to make Ireland a convenient retreat for contemplation, and a nursery for learning and piety; first, her complete seclusion, yet not too remote from the countries subjugated by Rome, so that, when the storm of persecution set in, she was safe and obvious to fly to for shelter. Tertullian, about the year 200, alludes thus to Ireland—"Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo verò subdita."—Such were the retreats of this island—"inaccessible to the Roman arms, yet subdued to Christ"—and, being almost within sight of Britain, it could not but be resorted to by many,

who, taking the wings of the dove, fled from the terrors of the Roman eagle.

A second circumstance which contributed to make Ireland a remarkable seminary for the Christian Church, was the fact, that, very early in her history, monastic institutions, whose great occupation was the instruction of youth, were founded there. These certainly abounded, even in the first and purest period of her Church. Different are the stories of their origin in this island; but many circumstances tend to prove it to have been Eastern, and not Roman. The choice of islands, and the favourite number of seven churches in so many of their places of sacred seclusion, may be added, as savouring much of a traditional respect for the memory of him, who indited his inspired epistles from the Isle of Patmos to the seven churches of Asia Minor; but the manner of their introduction is immaterial in this place, the fact of their existence is unquestionable.

A third circumstance strangely contributed to fill Ireland with learned men, in the beginning of the 7th century, and this was the discountenancing of literature by the Roman Pontiffs.* "Pope Gregory I," even he that was called the Great, "hoping to advance sacred learning by discouraging profane, burned the Palatine Library, and the works of Livy!" In Ireland, "at that period, papal injunctions had no force; and hence the ingenious were necessarily driven to this island, to acquire

* University Calendar, Dublin. 1833. p. 4. and Ledwich, 353.

the rudiments of knowledge." Of all these causes the first had doubtless a paramount influence, "because there was no terror of wars to these utmost ends of the world;" but, to whatever it may be attributed, the fact is universally admitted, that Ireland was the cradle of learning for several of the earliest centuries of Christianity—the spot, in the first instance, (for Iona was but an offset,) from whence "savage clans and roving barbarians received the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion." To establish this beyond a doubt we may refer to the pages of Bede; to many of the most authentic writers, both foreign and domestic, some even of his early age; and to the acknowledgments already quoted, of Milner, Mosheim, Rapin, and most modern historians, especially ecclesiastical—acknowledgments induced by a careful examination of recorded facts. Therefore it is that Camden asserts,* "that we very frequently read in our writers, of individuals sent over to be educated in Ireland"—"Sœpissimé in nostris Scriptoribus legitur, amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam;"—and that we find in the life of St. Sulgenus, a bishop of St. David's who visited Ireland so late as the 11th century, these lines asserting her celebrity in wisdom.

"Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos, sophiâ mirabile claros."—

—Therefore it is that we hear of Alcuinus, † the

* Brit. p. 730.

† See the life of Willibrordus, a celebrated Missionary in France in the reign of Pepin, by Alcuinus.

preceptor of Charlemagne, himself reputed by many to be an Irishman, bearing unequivocal testimony to the excellence of Irish masters in his time; and of Virgilius* the philosopher, excommunicated by Rome, for precocious discoveries in Geography. Hence again we read in Bede of British kings and illustrious foreigners flocking for their education to this island, as it is thus related of one—"that he tarried some time in Ireland, for the purpose of studying the scriptures"—"tum legendarum gratiâ scripturarum, in Hiberniâ non parvo tempore demoratus;"† and further, in his life of Cuthbert, of Alchfrid, a Northumbrian King, "vir in Scripturis doctissimus"—one mighty in the scriptures.—

> Scotorum qui tum versatur incola terris,
> Cœlestum intento spirabat corde sophiam;
> Nam patriæ fines, et dulcia liquerat arva,
> Sedulus ut Domini mysteria disceret exul.

In fine, there is in this invaluable writer, a striking account of the extent of truly scriptural education in Ireland, and of the national encouragement extended to it, where he says, writing of Ireland ‡—"Erant ibidem, eo tempore, multi nobilium simul et mediocrum, de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relictâ insulâ patriâ, vel divinæ lectionis vel continentioris vitæ gratiâ, illo secesserant"—and, mark the interesting sequel,—"quos omnes Scotii libentissimé suscipientes, victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros

* He was summoned to answer to Pope Zachary, for the heresy of declaring that the world is round.

† Moore i. 282. and see Bede, iv. 26. ‡ Ecc. Hist. i. 27.

quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum, praebere curabant."* Should any one doubt that these Scoti are the inhabitants of Ireland, it is necessary to inform them from the same authority, that he expressly tells us, that the island Hibernia is properly the country of the Scots—"Hæc propria patria est Scotorum; ab hâc egressi, tertiam in Britanniâ Britonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt."†

The stories therefore which we are told of the celebrated schools of Bangor, Lismore and Clonard, of the no less renowned colleges of Armagh and others, are no fictions; and the accounts of their prosperity can scarcely be considered as exaggerated, when they form the theme of eulogy so universal and authentic.

But never was destruction more rapid, or devastation more permanent in its effects, than that which was accomplished in this island, by the Danish, or Ostman, inroads and ravages of the ninth century; it extended far beyond the existence of lives and liberties, properties and establishments." "The greatest loss of all," says Peter Walsh ‡ in

* "There were there, at that time, many English nobles and persons of the middle rank, who, in the time of bishops Finan and Colman, having left their native island, retired thither, (to Ireland,) for the sake either of sacred study, or a more moral (or regular) life. All of these the Scots, most hospitably receiving, took care to supply with daily sustenance without cost, with books also to peruse, and gratuitous teaching."

† Ecc. Hist. I. 1. and elsewhere.

‡ The same writer, in his celebrated Irish remonstrance, speaks of the teaching of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy in his day, as being "contrary to the letter, sense, and design of the gospel; the writings of the apostles, and

his Prospect (p. 150), "was not only of learning in the mart of literature, but of sanctity in the Island of Saints; neither the one or the other was ever, at any time, restored to Ireland, at least not near the former degree of eminence." Yet the beacon-light was not for some time entirely extinguished, although at length it nearly died away; for we find, so late as the year 947, the character of the Irish to be holden in such estimation abroad, that a monastery was founded at Metz, by the widow of the great Emperor Otho, on the condition that they "should receive no other than Irish Monks into their establishment, as long as any could be found."*

But what the Danish inroads thus prepared, the full flood of superstition, and consequent jealous ignorance, which accompanied the Anglo-Norman invasion, completed; it is painful to dwell upon such a subject—especially as it is unnecessary to do so,—but the fact is notorious, that darkness, gross and palpable, for centuries brooded on this island. Few and feeble and far between were the efforts that were made to revive, or rather to reproduce, its colleges. In the year 1311, John Lech, or de Leche, Archbishop of Dublin, obtained a bull from Pope Clement V, for the foundation of an University at Dublin; but the project fell to the ground, upon that prelate's death in 1313. Seven years afterwards, his successor, Alexander de

the commentaries of their successors; to the belief of the Christian Church for ten ages; and, moreover, to the clearest dictates of nature."

* Moore, ii. 134.

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Bichnor or Bignor, revived the design, and procured a confirmation of Clement's bull from Pope John XXII; and the University thus established had lectures in Divinity, civil and canon law, and other clerical sciences, for some time. But it seems never to have thriven very extensively; so that it has been doubted whether some notices, which seem to be connected with it in subsequent times, have represented it as a general College, or a local seminary alone.* It is conjectured that it possessed solely the latter character in the 5th of Edward IV, because that then, in the preamble of an act founding an University at Drogheda, it is declared to have been established, "because the land of Ireland has no University nor general place of study within it." But this doubt is ill-founded, and the general assertion of the statute must have been made in ignorance of the real fact; as it is certain, that the College of St. Patrick continued to exist, although in a very languid state, until the reign of Philip and Mary: for these princes, in re-establishing the Cathedral of St. Patrick's, when rehearsing their reasons for doing so, allude to the utility of its University; and declare their desire to have it continued, in order that the youth *of the nation* might thereby be instructed in civilization, and the rules of moral virtue. It was therefore a national College long after the reign of Edward IV.

* Some details, respecting the College above mentioned of Bichnor, will be found in Mr. W. Monck Mason's History of that Cathedral, and the Introduction to the Dublin University Calendar for 1833.

But to return,—this attempt of the time of Edward IV, failed for want of sufficient endowment. In the reign of Elizabeth, an era of energy in the agents of church and state, many efforts were made towards the accomplishing of the great object of founding an University in Ireland. That admirable governor, Sir H. Sydney, in particular, displayed his liberal spirit; Sir John Perrot also was anxious to accomplish the measure. The College was to be grafted on the ancient one of St. Patrick's Cathedral; but there were great difficulties and coldnesses in the way. Archbishop Loftus especially impeded it; principally however because that he, at the same time, exerted himself to procure a situation and a charter for a new establishment in the vicinity of Dublin. At length the mayor and citizens of that city most liberally consented to grant, as a site for this new University of Loftus, the precinct of the Augustinian Monastery of All Saints' in Hoggin Green, then situate in the suburbs, which had been given them on the dissolution of the monasteries. The Archbishop then employed Henry Ussher, at that time Archdeacon of Dublin, and afterwards Primate of Ireland, to apply to Elizabeth for her royal charter, and license of Mortmain for the holding of the land. Both of these were obtained; and the University of Dublin was founded, by the Queen's letters patent, passed on the 3rd of March 1591,-2, in the 34th year of her reign. On the 13th of that month; the first stone of the building was laid by Thomas

Smith, Mayor of Dublin, and the first students were received on the 9th of January, 1593.

The primary object of this establishment was the propagating and continuing of the Protestant religion in Ireland ; and, as a principal means of obtaining this end, encouragement was originally given to natives to come and study therein. On this subject, of instruction in the Irish language, it is necessary to enlarge. It is surely a principle of common sense, that, when a public seminary is founded in any country for the education of its inhabitants, means should be most amply provided, to have that education conveyed through the medium of the tongue which forms the language of the majority of these inhabitants. One is ashamed of the necessity of urging so obvious a truth—one that appears to have been always acted upon in every other land. Still further, it is also plain to common sense, that, if the government of the country should happen to be opposed by two strong prejudices in the people, the one against the religion, the other, still more powerful, against the language of their rulers, it would be prudent in these to take the more popular one of language to their party ; and thus, not only to neutralize the force of the other prejudice, and to give free action to truth, but even acquire strength to overcome it. So thought the able ministers of Elizabeth and of her successors ; and such was the opinion of some of the greatest men that have conferred honor upon Ireland by their talents and their virtues, as well as of the most en-

lightened of Great Britain ;—and it was acted on to some extent by Elizabeth and James, and also by the convocations of the Irish church in the 17th century.

To commence with that well-advised prince of great promise, Edward VI. the first paragraph of the Instructions given by him to Sir James Crofts and the council, A.D. 1551, runs thus—" to propagate the worship of God in the English tongue, and the service to be translated into Irish ; "—this order, although it was previous to the foundation of the university, deserves to be noticed. The principle is followed up by Lord Chancellor Bacon, where, in a paper addressed by him to Mr. Secretary Cecil, and with reference to the new college, he declares ;—" But there should go, hand in hand with this, some course of advancing religion indeed, as the sending over some good preachers" &c. ; " and the taking care of the versions of the Bible and catechisms, and other books of instruction into the Irish language ;"—projects which are fully developed and explained in a letter which at this time was written to Queen Elizabeth, by Sir H. Sydney, the friend and playfellow of Edward V I ;one whose government was singularly wise and popular in Ireland, where it acquired him the honorable epithet of the " good Lord Deputy." His words are—" In choice of ministers for the remote places, where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessary that soche be chosen as can speak Irishe ; for whiche searche should be

made, first and speedilye, in your own universities; and any found there well affected in religion, and well conditioned beside, they should be animated by your Majestie; yea, though it were somewhat to your Highnes's chardge; and on peril of my liffe, you should find it retorned with fayme, before three years be expired. If there be no soche there, or not inough, then doe I wishe (but this most humbleye under your Highnes's correction,) that you would write to the Regent of Scotland, where, as I learne, there are many of the Reformed Church that are of this language, that he would prefer to your Highness so many as shall seeme good to you to demande, of honest, zealous, and learned men, and that could speak this language; and, though for a whyle your Majestie were at some chardge, it were well bestowed, for in short tyme their own preferments would be able to suffice them, and in the meane tyme thousands would be gained to Christ, that are now lost, or left at the woorst," &c.

Animated by the remonstrances of her Ministers, QUEEN ELIZABETH sent over a font of Irish types, in the 13th of her reign, "in hope that God in mercy would raise up some to translate the New Testament into their mother-tongue;" and it was ordered, "that the prayers of the Church should be printed in the Irish language and character; and that a church should be set apart in the chief town of every diocese, where they were to be read, and a sermon preached to the common people in their own language."

It appears also, that this princess had followed up the councils of Sydney respecting the university, at least in their principle, from some passages in a letter which was written by her successor, King James I, to the Deputy of Ireland, in the 17th year of his reign; and which were thus expressed:—"In behalf of all Prelates and Clergy of his kingdom of Ireland"—"Because wee understand that the simple natives of that our kingdom—are still kept in darkness, and apt and ready to bee misled into error, superstition, and disobedience, *which proceedeth through want of ministers whoe could speake their owne language*, whome they may understand—because our colledge of Dublin was first founded by our late sister of happie memorie, Queen Elizabeth, and hath been since plentifully endowed by us, *principallie for breeding up the natives* of that kingdom in civility, learning and religion; we have reason to expect, that, in all this long tyme of our peaceable government, some good number of the natives should have beene trained upp in that Colledge, and might have been employed in teaching and reducing those which are ignorant among that people; and to *think, that the governors of that house have not performed that trust imposed in them, if the revenewes thereof have been otherwise imployed;* and therefore we doe require, that henceforth special care be had, and that the visitors of that universitie be required particularlie to look unto and take care of this point; and, for the supplying of the present want, that *choice be made of some*

competent number of towardlie men, alreadie fitted with the knowledge of the Irish tongue, and be placed in the universitie, and maintained there for two or three years, till they have learned the ground of religion, and be able to catechise the simple natives: when any livings that are not of any great value fall void among the meere Irish, these men to be thought upon before others; or to be placed with other able ministers that possess livings amongst the meere Irish, where, for defect of the language, they are able to doe little good, to be interpreters unto them, and be maintained by them after they are made fitt for that employment."

The opinion of Archbishop Ussher on this subject, is manifested by a strong measure which is recorded to have been adopted by him. An exceedingly pious man, fully instructed in the Scriptures, and well read also in books of practical piety, but a mechanic, that was otherwise without education, came to his Grace requesting of him to ordain him; the Primate refused, and advised him to go home, and follow his calling, and pray to God to remove this temptation. The man shortly after returned, and urged Ussher much to ordain him; the Primate examined him, and asked him if he spoke Irish, and, being answered in the negative, desired him to go back and learn it. In twelve months he returned, perfectly qualified as an Irish speaker; upon which Ussher ordained him, "being satisfied that such an ordinary man was able to do more good, than if he had Latin without any Irish at all." Nor

was the Bishop deceived in his expectation, as Dr. Parr informs us, "for this man employed his talent faithfully and diligently; and proved very successful in converting many Irish papists to our church; and continued labouring in that work, until the rebellion and massacre, wherein he hardly escaped with life." Ussher also took an active part in passing the canons in the convocation of 1634, whereby the use of the Irish tongue in the churches of the establishment was ordained.

In 1709, also, the house of convocation "Resolved, That some fit person be provided and encouraged to preach, catechize, and perform Divine Service in the Irish tongue, at such times and in such places as the Ordinary of each Diocese, with the consent of the Incumbent of the parish where such offices shall be performed, shall direct." And also "That such Clergy of each Diocese, as are qualified by their skill in the Irish language for this work, and are willing to undertake it, may have the preference, not only in their own parishes, but in any other parts of the Diocese." And in the year 1710, the HOUSE OF COMMONS resolved, that "it will be requisite that a number of Ministers, duly qualified to instruct the natives of this kingdom, and perform the offices of religion to *them in their own language*, be provided, and encouraged by a suitable maintainance." A bill was accordingly prepared conformably to this resolution, by order of the House; but when it was brought to the door, the Parliament was just adjourned.

The name of Boyle is so interwoven with a consideration of this subject, that it would weaken the abundant strength of his testimony to extract from it, and we shall have occasion hereafter to dwell upon it; suffice it therefore, at the present, to add the strong expressions of Bishop Berkeley, and of Doctor Samuel Johnson. The former, in his Book called the 'Querist,' pointedly asks—"Whether there be an instance of a people's being converted, in a Christian sense, otherwise than by preaching to them, and instructing them in their own language?" And the latter has furnished us—in a letter written by him to Sir William Drummond, in answer to a question put by the Christian Knowledge Society, respecting the propriety of printing a Bible for the use of the Highlanders—with a judgment, almost prophetical, of the advantages which must flow from any attempt to instruct a people in religion, through the instrumentality of their native language—an opinion which is calculated to satisfy even those who profess the desire of abolishing it altogether; and to shew, that no better means could be devised for accomplishing this narrow wish, than the giving of the people instruction in that tongue.

It is not certain, he conjectures, "that the same method will not preserve the Highland language for the purposes of learning, and abolish it from daily use. *When the Highlanders read the Bible, they will naturally wish to have its obscurities cleared, and to know the history, collateral or dependant. Knowledge always desires increase;* it is like fire, which

must be kindled by some external agent, but which will afterwards propagate itself. When they once desire to learn, they will naturally have recourse to the nearest language by which that desire can be gratified; and one will tell another, that, if he would attain knowledge, he must learn English." To these testimonies might be added those of Spenser, Swift, Primate Marsh, Archbishop King, and very many others.

We have stated that instruction of the natives, with a view to prepare them for the ministry of the gospel, was originally provided for in the University of Dublin, and encouraged with a special endowment—the ancient Native's places—which were continued until very lately, although entirely perverted from their original object; and their funds are now appropriated to some other purpose: these appear to have been particularly alluded to in King James's letter. Still the prejudices against the native tongue were so strong at the time, that they prevented any serious and continued attempt by the heads of the College, to make it instrumental as a medium of religious instruction. Those persons who entertained the absurd idea, that they could expatriate, by mere legislation, a beloved language from a country in which they could scarcely exercise any efficient act of power, would not be likely to admit, that there could exist any good policy in having its teaching publicly adopted in the University; therefore, while a few inducements were holden out to the mere Irish, to

come there to be instructed, and they were even, though but faintly, encouraged to employ the native tongue in their future ministry; it was never imagined, or provided, that this language should be cultivated in the same manner as the classical tongues. No establishment of a Professorship, or appointment of premiums, appear to have been made; no continued facilities of lectures, or of grammars, or other elementary books, officially provided; the little that was attempted, was inefficiently done, and such efforts soon languished and expired. Some wiser men endeavoured at intervals, of themselves, or through their influence, to introduce a better policy into the system in this respect; but it was always a struggle against opinion too strong for any permanent result. For a century, therefore, the question was scarcely mentioned—even at this enlightened day, when these mistaken notions have been very much removed, nothing on the subject has been attempted by the rulers of the College, or of the state; and it has been left to a few private individuals, to subscribe a fund, and to labour much in endeavouring to procure that a Professorship of the Irish Language be founded and endowed in the University; and a part of the endowment allotted from its funds.

It is really a matter of such practical importance that right opinions should be entertained upon this

* The statutes declared, that 30 of the 70 Scholars of the house should be Irish; and of the poorest, "modó digni sint." Their stipend was 3*l.* annually, that of the others only 10*s.*

subject, and the consideration of it exhibits such a novel view of the human mind, that, looking to the character which properly belongs to History,—that of assisting political wisdom in forming its deductions by the detail as it were of moral experiment,—it would be unpardonable, especially as it is so intimately connected with the opinions and conduct of Bishop Bedell, were we to pass over such a specimen as may be afforded, by an account of the extraordinary and greatly mistaken prejudices that have existed in Ireland with respect to her native tongue; prejudices such as in no other nation of the earth have ever produced such material results.

It was, as we have seen, the misfortune of Ireland to have incurred, from the very commencement of her connection with England, the contempt of her invaders; from the period when first the despicable prince John plucked the beards of the submissive chiefs, to the last instances of neglect exhibited toward her by British Parliaments, she seems to have been practically treated with contempt: her laws, her manners, her dress, and even her language, were despised; and repeated Acts of Parliament were passed, with a vain expectation of exterminating them all, as being little short of barbarous. Those enacted against the language, served only to record the impolicy and ignorance of their originators; the enactments of one of them, made certainly with the best intention of promoting civilization in Ireland, exhibit such fatuity, that they might be well brought forward as an example of

the absurdity to which the human understanding may be led, in its presumptuous efforts to innovate by legislation, when it is uneducated and unenlightened. In the Act of Uniformity, the Stat. 2. Eliz. c. 13, by which the use of the English Liturgy, and a strict conformity to it are enjoined, a clause is introduced, reciting that English ministers are not to be found in Irish Churches; that the Irish people did not understand the English tongue; and that the church service cannot be celebrated in Irish, as well for the difficulty of getting it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read it. The wise remedy proposed is, that, "If the minister of the gospel cannot speak English, he may celebrate the church service in the LATIN tongue!!!" A language, says the Earl of Clare, sarcastically commenting on the enactments of colonial parliaments in his speech on the Union, "certainly as unintelligible to his congregation as the English tongue, and probably not very familiar to the minister thus authorized to use it"— And yet this provision, absurd as it may appear, was passed in a wiser spirit of conciliation, and was even more rational in itself,* than those of

* Dr. Leland, in mentioning this strange piece of legislation, observes, that "it served to sheathe the acrimony of their prejudices against the reformed worship, by allowing it to be performed in the usual language of their devotions." Had this result been contemplated by the legislators, their statute was very far from being so absurd as it appears to be: but no such expectation is alluded to in the preamble, or is stated in the history, of the act; and, if the effect Dr. Leland refers to was produced, it only adds another to the many instances of a kind and all-wise Providence, overruling human evil for good, and taking occasion from human folly for the exhibition of Divine wisdom.

the act of 28 Henry VIII. and of other statutes, which proscribed the use of the Irish language altogether.

Augustus in the plenitude of his power declared, that he could not invent and introduce a new word into general use, in his empire ; and it would appear that He who confounded Babel, and overruled the evils that might have followed from that miracle, by a second miraculous interference on the day of Pentecost, has not delegated to princes any of his dominion over language. With respect to the weak attempt to extirpate that of the Irish by legislation, a little reflection might have suggested, what a slight degree of experience has proved, that such violence could only serve to endear the proscribed language to the people, and have caused it to twine its tendrils around their hearts—that such pressure would only serve to strengthen this cement of union, among those who cherished it as all that was left to them of their ancient inheritance.

Prejudices are to the mind precisely what habits are to the body ; at first they owe their peculiar form to circumstances, but custom and other influences ultimately render that to be almost necessary, which at first was little more than convenient. The only way of accomplishing their rejection, is to seek out and follow the principle of their reception ; to proceed with its current for a time, and to divert it insensibly from its course. We can well apply to this matter the fable of the traveller,

who was the subject of a contest between the sun and the wind, which of them should first cause him to throw off his cloak. The storm raged roughly on him, but only made him to draw it closer around him; and, if in any place more than elsewhere he felt the power of the tempest, that place he more especially guarded: while the sun darted on him his most powerful rays, and gave him abundantly of that which his garment was put on to supply; so that, by its affording a more agreeable and convenient substitute for his wants, the habit, no longer necessary, soon became an encumbrance, and at length was entirely abandoned.

It is necessary here to remark, in reference to an opinion at all times fashionable among the English—that the Irish is a barbarous tongue—that this is far from being the fact; however it may be true, that it is in many parts of the island the language of a people scarcely, if at all, emerged from a barbarous state. The Irish is an original language, the purest dialect of the Celtic, which is a primitive tongue. It is not copious in such terms as peculiarly belong to the numerous improvements of modern society; for it has not been the language of the very highest classes, or of the learned professions, since the time when art and science, polished manners and belles lettres, may be said to have been in their cradles; but it is copious in expressing the varieties of natural objects and of sentiments, and in the general vocabulary of a simple people. In its sound, it has, from the causes above

mentioned, become exceedingly vulgarised, and in the "Bocca Romana" of Ireland it is far from elegant—although much more so, it must be admitted, than the English in the mouth of a Cumbrian, or of a peasant of Somersetshire: yet it is capable of the richest intonation, and fullest variety of expression. It possesses, for instance, the fine gutteral letter, unknown to the English or the French, the Greek χ, or Spanish x, which assists in giving to these idioms very much of their harmonious utterance; although, strange to say, it is that tone which now, in the mouth of the Irish peasant, sounds most barbarous and unmusical. But there is no doubt that the Irish, were it used by persons of education, or of polished manners, would be holden to be more noble and harmonious, than most of the northern continental languages.

Another mistaken opinion has operated to deprive the native dialect of the patronage of even the best-intentioned and intelligent persons—it has been jealously considered to be the language of faction and of rebellion; and it has been fondly imagined, that to exterminate it entirely would be to remove one great cause of disaffection to the English government; while to encourage it at all, as a medium of education, would be to continue it as a barrier to the assimilation, that is rapidly forming between the two nations. But, if it be such a barrier, it can only accumulate strength and increase, by heaping on it unnecessary occasions of discontent; and, supposing it to be the fact, that it is

most dangerous as a conductor of faction, and allowing that for some purposes its extermination may be desirable, yet it is a most strange paradox, but most true, that the very best mode of ultimately accomplishing this extermination, is to encourage it as a medium of instruction; and the very worst manner of attempting that end, to proscribe it by authority. In truth the wise conjecture of Dr. Johnson already alluded to, which has been verified in the case of the Scotch, the Welsh, the Manx, and the Venedi* or Wendens in Germany, has received the fullest confirmation of its good sense, from recent experiments in Ireland; where it has been the one uniform result of all the efforts made to instruct the people through their native tongue, to lead them to learn the English language, to frequent the English school, and to seek for the English Bible and other books. The process has been precisely that simple one that he alluded to; knowledge *has* desired increase; the people, once set upon learning, *have* continued to seek more of it, through the only language in which they can have books; and, though they now have Bibles of their own, the same impulse has sent them to the English version, and for a similar reason,—because the Irish translation, being printed without marginal

* See, in Dr. Richardson's Folly of Pilgrimages, page 139, &c. a letter from Dr. Jablonski, chaplain to the King of Prussia, replete with interesting facts upon this head.

It was said of Bishop Wilson, in the Isle of Man, A.D. 1740. "The Bishop has found means to bring the Manx into disuse," by causing it to be taught.

references, is inadequate to gratify this increasing *desire* for knowledge.

With respect to the continuance of the language in common use, or its revival so as to become general, such an apprehension was manifestly without sufficient foundation; the English tongue has been too long established as that of the Court, the state, the university, the learned professions, polite society, science, literature, and commerce in its external and higher internal intercourses, to admit of this; and it must be now acquired by any individual, that is desirous to rise above the lowest grade, and is not contented with eminence among the lowest of the natives alone.

It has therefore become impossible that the Irish language should ever again recover possession of the entire island, or be that of even general use; indeed its confined vocabulary alone prevents it—but it has reigned and does reign in the hearts of the people; the priesthood have at all times made use of its influences most extensively, and lately have not forgotten the value of its agency in their seminary at Maynooth. Add to this that justice required, and even now requires, that it should be employed to promulgate laws,—laws with mortal penalties attached to some of them—to a people unable to read or understand them in the language in which they have been enacted: for surely common sense suggests, that the government should speak intelligibly, if not affectionately, to the governed. Every reason therefore of true policy combined to

have induced the rulers of Ireland to have rather promoted the use of her native tongue,* and the same reasonings and motives have still their obvious application even in the present day. In fine we must again urge and impress this truth, that for centuries past, this language, so ancient, so national, so purely and jealously preserved, has been domesticated in every cabin in the land, and blended with every feeling of the heart; in such a degree, that to exterminate it was always impractible; that to communicate with the understandings of the people except through its medium, was almost impossible; to influence their feelings without it entirely so. The Hebrew shibboleth was not more certain to ensure the welcome reception of a friend, and to provoke to the deadly repulse of a foe, than was the use of this beloved dialect to open the Irishman's heart, and to expand his countenance; or the ignorance of it to be at the least associated with thoughts of distrust.

To return from this lengthened digression which, so far from being irrelevant, is quite essential to the proper consideration of the principal object of this work, it is to be implied from the letter of

* It is a remarkable fact and paradox, that the number of existing Irish speaking people is perhaps double that of two centuries past; and yet in many places the native language has become extinct, and it is gradually dying away. The solution of the ænigma lies in this,—the population has increased perhaps eight-fold; so that, supposing the Irish speaking natives to be now only 1,500,000, this greatly exceeds the actual number of inhabitants of Ireland in 1640, and yet forms but little more than one sixth part of the present population of the Island. The mere Irish multiply fastly; and this fact proves, that the time for action is by no means passed; while the decay of the language is calculated to disarm the statesman of unreasonable alarm.

King James, that, however faithfully the great and fundamental principle, of promoting the spread of the Protestant religion in Ireland had been attended to in the college, one rational means of accomplishing this end, and which was within the contemplation of the founders, to wit, the employing of the intermediate agency of the native language, had fallen already into neglect. Indeed the chief method of carrying out the first great principle into action—that which was most in accordance with the plan of our Lord Jesus, when he issued the command, "Go and preach the gospel to every creature,"—seems to have been little attended to at all; and ministers of a missionary and evangelical character—whether English or mere Irish, appear scarcely to have existed in the country.

The election of the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, upon any occasion of vacancy in that office, was by its charter vested in the Board of fellows; but the exercise of this liberty was often interfered with by the crown. There are many instances recorded, in an ancient Register of the University, of King Charles I. or his ministers, having encroached upon the privileges conferred by that charter.* For example, there are copied upon its

* Rollin asserts (V. x. p. 3.) that Charles I, when he ascended the throne, formed two projects; one of which was, "to carry the Royal authority much higher than the King his father, or any of his predecessors had done;" and the imperious Strafford amply seconded his wishes. We find in the College Register the copy of a letter, addressed officially from the Castle of Dublin, to the Provost and Fellows, recommending Sir James Ware, and James Donellan to be elected Burgesses, to represent the University in the approaching Parliament, it bears date 30th May 1634.

pages two letters, bearing date respectively the 10th of April, and 9th of May 1637, desiring the Provost and fellows to meet and admit, even as Senior fellows, two persons named John Harding and Thomas Marshall, both of them from Cambridge. To this mandate the Board obeyed, but with manifest reluctance; "according to their duty," as it is expressed in the Register, "being by the letters put out of the statutable way of election." Upon another occasion we find one William Newman—who had presented letters from the Lords Justices and the Primate Ussher to the Board, desiring that he should be admitted to a fellowship, without undergoing examination a second time, as under the circumstances was usual and required—denied upon these grounds, that "the yielding of this desire were a breach of our Statute forme for election; and that, by reason of the Statute which maketh him incapable who procureth letters in this behalfe, satisfaction to their Lordship's requeste could not be given, without breach of our oath taken to have the Statutes observed." Newman immediately went off to London, and made his complaint to the King; in consequence of which Charles addressed an angry letter to the board, in which he threatened the opposers of his wishes, and desires that Newman should be forthwith elected and admitted a fellow. This was accordingly done; but the entry recording it was made in these especial words—"Ego, Robertus, admitto te in numerum Sociorum hujus Collegii,

secundum tenorem literarum serenissimi nostri Regis, et dominorum Justiciarorum." This was in 1632, when Robert Ussher was the Provost.

At the period of Bedell's succession to the Provostship, there was much dissension in the College respecting the right of election to the office; the following account of it is extracted from the Register of the University p. 13. "Anno. Dom 1626, Jan. 15. Sir William Temple, Provost, dyed, having ruled 17 or 18 yeares."

"A controversy dependeth between the Senior and Junior Fellowes, about the election of a new Provost; the Seniors mayntayning it to be in their power owneley, and the Juniors noe lesse for themselves. The which case being skann'd and controversed by the visitors, or by as many of them as could be brought together, it was adjudged to the Junior fellowes, that of right they should have a voice in choosing the Provost; but, because of my Lord Primate, the prime visitor as Vice Chancellor, his absence, it tooke noe effect."

"Soone after the Seniors chose one Mr. Joseph Meade, a Cambridgman, their Provost; and so proclaymed him openly in the Hall to be soe reputed. Mr. Temple, Burser, and Mr. Floyd, Senior Fellowe, by the consent of the rest of the Seniors, went for England, to bring him, or another with them."

"The Junior Fellowes, to the number of 5, vid. Mr. Travers, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Gearalt, Mr, Jordan, and Mr. Lysaght, chose Doctor Robert Usher; and had him sworne that very day, being the last allowed us by our Charter and Statutes."

"May 30, Mr. William Bedell, a batchelor in Theology of Emanuel College in Cambridge, was promoted to the place by the King's Majesty's mandat; our most reverend Chancellor's letters of Recommendations, our vice-Chancellor the Lord Primate of Ireland, Dr. James Ussher, approving of him; was admitted and chosen, by the unanimous consent of the Fellowes, the xvith of August."

It appears from letters of Ussher, and of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, published at the end of Dr. Parr's life of the former prelate, that neither he nor the government properly regarded the chartered right of election which the fellows possessed; or at least that they acted as if they considered it to be only a right of election after a nomination, and so a mere nullity: for we find from them that Ussher had, previously to the choice of Mr. Bedell, applied to Mr. Sibbs, reader of Lincoln's Inn, to persuade him to accept of the office of Provost; and that this gentleman had actually come over for the purpose, with a letter from Abbot to the Primate; and so they settled it among themselves.* Upon Sibb's declining the situation, it was offered to Mr. Bedell. To avoid returning to the subject, it may be in this place remarked, that, upon his promotion to a bishoprick, the crown again interfered with the right of electing his successor. Although Laud, at that time Bishop of London, who almost entirely swayed the counsels of the King, seems to take great merit to himself in leaving

* Parr's Life, App. Let. 115, and 119.

the election free,* yet his mode of expressing himself—"I am *engaged* for none"—manifests that there was a general canvas for the office; and, in fact, Charles did address a letter to the Board to suspend the election, "until they shall understand our further resolution; which shall be guided by no other reason or motive, but what regards their prosperity, which we greatly affect; neither do we purpose to make this a precedent to deprive them of any liberty granted them by their charter."† It appears from the Register that a deputation, consisting of the Bursar and one of the Fellows, was sent over with a petition to have this letter revoked; and also, by a letter from Bishop Laud to the Primate,‡ that, as he writes, "his Majesty was content, upon the reasons given by me and the petition of the fellows, to leave them to their freedom; so they did chuse such a man as would be serviceable to the Church and him." We accordingly find it recorded thus: § "Oct. 3, Dr. Robert Usher, recommended to us by the King's letters patent, by the Vice Provost and major part of the fellows is chosen; onely Mr. Price, and Mr. Ince refused to subscribe thereto." The election had been previously made by permission; on the condition that the person chosen should not be admitted, until the King's approbation were received, which was ultimately signified by these letters patent.

This Robert Usher, or Ussher, who was at

* Let. 142. † Register p. 21, and 22. 16 Ap. 1629. ‡ Let. 143.
§ Reg. p. 25.

his first election set up against Bedell, appears to have been a popular person in the College; but was inferior to others of that name, who flourished at this period. He was the son of Primate Henry Ussher, the first-named fellow in Elizabeth's charter; and cousin german to the much more celebrated Primate, James Ussher, "whose praise is in all the churches," and whose illustrious name appears the first upon the list of students of the Irish University, "not without a future presage," as his biographer remarks, "that he might prove an honor and ornament to that college and nation."* There was another of the family, Ambrose, likewise a fellow of the College, and a brother of James; an individual but little known to fame; yet one who has left behind him a glorious testimony of his knowledge in the languages, and of his ability, in a complete translation of the Bible from the originals into the English language, which is extant in the collection of MSS. formerly belonging to his brother, and now preserved in the library of the University. He was a celebrated Orientalist, a profound Hebrew Scholar,†—he died suddenly in March 1629. I may surely be indulged, if, before I return to my subject, I pause to commemorate that celebrated name, so intimately connected with the infancy of our native Alma mater; and especially to do honor to the eminent prelate who chiefly adorned it, and who should be gratefully remembered by all that reverence and respect her as

* Parr's Life, page 4. † Appendix to Parr's Life of Ussher. Letter 135.

her sons. He was her first-born; and, after his full growth, he watched over and cherished her, with more of the anxious fostering of a parent, than the kindness and duty of a son; guarding, supporting and strengthening her, in the trials of perilous times. Himself the first fruits of that abundant harvest of piety and learning which the College of Dublin supplies, we perceive in him the nucleus around which all that has since promoted, or evidenced, its progress to prosperity has been accumulated. Its library and MSS. are founded on, and enriched by, his collections; and to his own imcomparable works, the University is chiefly indebted, not only for estimation abroad, and rank among the universities of Europe, but also for much of that orthodox and scriptural theology which it possesses at home, and in which it is not surpassed by any school of Divinity in Christendom—"Semel raptos nunquam demittet honores!" The circumstances of Ussher's name being the first upon our University books, is an interesting fact. The chain which connects our present spiritual church with the pure and primitive preachers of Christianity in Ireland had never indeed been broken; but its intermediate links had been tarnished with rust; at length its brilliancy was restored in that admirable prelate, who raised Armagh to its ancient preeminence in sacred learning, exhibited in himself a genuine Comhorb (or successor) of St. Patrick, and is recorded as the first of a series of Protestant home-taught

divines, which is daily increasing innumber and in value.

In connection with the subject of our history, this Primate conferred a lasting benefit upon the College of Dublin, by procuring Bedell to become its Provost; and by removing that diffidence and delicacy, which was very near depriving it of his superintendance. The application to Mr. Bedell was received in a peculiar manner; the nice feelings that divided his mind upon the occasion can be best understood from the following letter, to Mr. Francis Burnet, who mediated for him in this business.

Sir,

With hasty commendations remembered, I have this day received both your letters, dated the 2nd of this month; I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite, as to have conferred with some of my friends, such as possibly do know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insufficiencies better than my Lord Primate; yet since that I perceive, by both your letters, the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand. I am married, and have three children; therefore, if the place requires a single man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any thing necessary for this life; I have a competent

* I must not omit to mention Sir William Ussher, to whom we are indebted for the 1st edition of the New Testament in Irish, as one of this honored name.

living of above a hundred pounds a year, in a good air and seat, with a very convenient house near to my friends; a little parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. I have often heard it that changing seldom brings the better, especially to those that are well. And I see well that my wife, (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever God shall appoint), had rather continue with her friends in her native country, than put herself into the hazard of the seas and a foreign land, with many casualties in travel, which she perhaps out of fear apprehends more than there is cause. All these reasons I have, if I consult with flesh and blood, which move me rather to reject this offer, (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my Lord Primate, for his mind and good opinion of me;) on the other side, I consider the end, wherefore I came into the world; and the business of a subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a minister of the Gospel, of a good patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of any better use to my country, to God's church, or of any better service to our common master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects; and if God call me, I must answer—Here I am. For my part therefore I will not stir one foot, or lift my finger, for or against this motion; but, if it proceed from the Lord—that is, if those whom it concerns there do procure those who may command me here to send me thither—I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia; yea, though

I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death itself in the performance. Sir, I have as plainly as I can, shewed you my mind; desiring you, with my humble service, to represent it to my reverend good Lord, my Lord Primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his holy name, and have you in his merciful protection.

So I rest,

your loving friend,

WILLIAM BEDELL."

From Bury, March 6, 1626.

In these our days of rapid transition from place to place, when the passing over to Ireland from Great Britain is but, as it were, the crossing of an inland ferry, we may possibly be surprised at "the hazard of the seas, and a foreign land, with many casualties in travel," having been thought worthy of any notice in influencing a determination on a subject so important; but, at that period a mission into Ireland was almost exile; the land journey thither at certain seasons nearly impracticable; the sea voyage, sometimes attended with more difficulties than a modern passage to America, and often tedious: for instance, it appears from Bedell's diary that, upon his second return to Ireland, he "set out to sea" on June 2nd. and did not arrive in Dublin till the 6th. When we add to these the character of the country in those days, as a place of safety; for in all things it had degenerated, and in nothing

more than in its peacefulness and security as a refuge for piety and learning; we may well imagine that nothing but a sense of duty, to obey the calling of his great master, could have induced him to undertake so troublesome, so responsible, so unprofitable a charge, as was the office of Provost of Trinity College at that time. There is a trait in this letter deserving of remark; the contentedness of mind, with which the simple and primitive Christian minister considers his hundred pounds per annum, as adequate to all his desires. The determination of Mr. Bedell was ultimately fixed by the command of the King; and he accordingly entered upon his new functions, with alacrity in his compliance and in the intentions of his mind, but not in the outward appearance. There exists, among the muniments of the University, a Diary kept by Bedell while he was Provost there; it is written in his own hand, and thus entitled—"Memorials of the government of the College since the death of Sir William Temple, and of the calling of W. Bedell to the Provost's place there, &c."—It is a very short journal of many day's business, from March 6th. 1626,7, to Sept. 11th. 1629. As it is not my object to enter into such particulars, respecting the history of the College of Dublin, as do not illustrate the character of its Provost, or materially exemplify his conduct, I shall not think it necessary to extract from the document in its fullest detail: the note of petty broils that then agitated the place, and the repetition of trivial instances of discipline

can neither interest or instruct—but whatever is of importance I shall interweave with the thread of this memoir, and present here the Diary of the first five months alone; as that part contains an entry of occurrences that are all of them best noticed by following its words.

"1627. March 6th. Letters received from Mr. Francis Burnet, about the Provost's place of Trinity College in Ireland, dated 2nd. March; answered this day.

May 3rd. Speech with my Lord of Canterbury, (Abbot) at Lambeth; who used that text of Psalm 71; 'I will goe in the strength of the Lord.'

May 29th. His Majesty's letters dated, approving the nomination of Mr. Bedell, and establishing him Provost.

June 26th. Act of election of William Bedell to be Provost, by Mr. Bradley, Mr. Wiggott, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Linch, and Mr. Parry.—These being agents in England, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Temple, by whom the letters in conformity were sent to him—Received Jul. 16.

July 1. Letters of the Lord Deputy, authorizing the fellows to choose William Bedell, ut suprâ.

July 4. Mr. Mede's resignation."

This was Mr. Joseph Mede—It appears from a letter to Archbishop Ussher, * addressed to him by Mr. Archibald Hamilton, the Primate's agent in London, that the situation of Provost had been

* App. to Parr's Life. Letter 137.

first intended for Mr. Mede ; for which reason Mr. Hamilton suggests him as a proper successor to Mr. Bedell, who, at the time of the writing of this letter, had been just preferred to the bishopric of Kilmore.* He had in fact been elected by the senior fellows, as we have already noted in an extract from the Register.

The Diary proceeds thus—

"July 17. The College letter and form of election, &c. received—

July 24. Mr. Lloyd met at Cambridge.

— 25. Harborough.

— 26. Lichfield.

— 27. Stone.

— 28. Chester.

— 31. Neston.

Aug. 5. Sermon at Neston.

— 8. We set to sea from Neston, and came to Llan-Ilion in Anglesey.

— 9. We went by land to Holyhead, 14 miles.

* An extract from this letter will be material; it throws additional light upon some subjects treated of in this memoir.

Whitehall, April. 8, 1629.

"MOST REVEREND—

On Thursday last I understood, by certain intelligence, that my Lord of London, (whether by the persuasion of Sir. H. Wotton, or others, I know not,) earnestly moved his Majesty in Dr. Bedell's behalf, (Provost of Dublin College,) that he might be preferred to the Bishopric of Kilmore ; which his Majesty hath granted, and the Letter for his consecration is like to be there, as soon as this. Some fear there is conceived, that one or other from hence may be put upon the house, who will not (it may be) so truly aim at the religious education of the students; for some one deeply tainted with the Arminian tenets putteth in close to be recommended thither by his Majesty, and think to prevail by that means."

Aug. 11. Set out toward Dublin from Holyhead.

Aug. 12. Came to Dublin in the morning, and lodged in Copper-alley, at Dr. Siler's house. In the afternoon went to the Lord Deputy.

Aug. 13. Speech to Mr. Ussher, who stood upon the right of his election; excused himself from accompanying me to Droghedah." This was Robert Ussher, already alluded to as son to the late primate Henry, and successor to Bedell in the Provostship; whose election by some of the Fellows, as well as that of Mede, had been put aside. Although he thus stood up for his rights, yet, being a gentle and amiable man, and probably influenced by his cousin the Primate, he went no further in his opposition, and always lived with the Provost on friendly terms. The Diary continues thus—"I drew a note whereto I required the Fellows to subscribe, touching their acceptation of me, as designed to the place by his Majesty—I perused the statutes.

Aug, 14. I rode to Droghedah, where most of the Fellows also were." The Primate's residence was at Termonfeckin near that town.

Aug. 15. "Returned from Droghedah. My Lord Primate commended a lately converted priest, Mr. O'Fary, to us.

Aug. 16. I went to the college with Dr. Richardson; and, in the chapel after prayers, having used this protestation before,—'that I intended not to binde myself to the former statutes, so as there might not be alteration in them, by addition

and explanation, the subject remaining. Item—that the place here being litigious, and my family untransported, I ment not presently to give up my living, but when with the convenience of my affairs I might so do'—I took the oth, and had the keyes delivered me. After, I exhorted every man to do his duty, and to live according to the statutes, by which I was strickly bound by oth to governe. After began the Divinity Lecture. After dinner, I viewed the Hall, Provost's lodging, library, and gardens, &c. At two of the clock was a meeting of the Senior Fellowes. It was resolved the next Lord's day to have a communion; and to that end to provide a communion-table, carpet-cloth, napkin, &c. ἀμνηστία of all former quarrels." Thus truly in the strength of the Lord, and in the spirit of his love, did this excellent and single-eyed Christian minister enter upon his difficult course; which could not but be rough and thorny, amidst the rude broils of such careless men as the then existing heads of the college must have been, unprovided as they were with even the decent furniture of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

With the deliberation and truth that are so remarkable in his character, the Provost determined, before he took any decided steps as head of the College, to become well acquainted not only with the Statutes, but the temper and character of the people with whom he had to deal; "therefore," as Burnet observes, "when he went over first, he carried himself so abstractly from all affairs, that

he passed for a soft and weak man." It would appear, that the gentle and retiring spirit of Bedell was too much affected by this low estimate of his character in public opinion : he ought to have better known, that it was the natural result of his adherence to the plan of proceeding which he had wisely laid down for himself; and that it could only continue so long as he felt it necessary to abstain from that energy, with which he was preparing to act—that it was but the drawing back of the bowstring to give it the greater power. But it is probable that this want of public approbation would have been more justly estimated, and less felt, by him, had he not imagined—for the result proves it to have been only an imagination—that even Ussher himself had commenced to change his opinion concerning him. He had returned to England at Michaelmas, (September 1627), to make his final arrangements, and to bring with him his family ; when the influence of these and other circumstances induced him to make some advances, towards resigning the Provostship altogether.

In a letter, bearing date Lond. Ap. 1. 1628, and addressed to Primate Ussher* he stated his desire to retire from his office ; and his having, when he assumed it, entered his protestation, that he intended not to renounce his benefice in England, but to resign its cure and profits into the hands of some fit person, to be restored to him in case he should find it expedient to return. This he now wishes to do ; and,

* Let. 124. Parr's Appendix.

urging the inadequacy of the Provost's income to the due support of his station, and the disappointments he had experienced in promises and hopes of their enlargement, by additional means, which had been holden out to him, he mentions the confusion of his pecuniary affairs in England, and the sickness of a child which made him to be unable to travel, as reasons in part to induce him to go back to his parish. But it is manifest that all these combined would have been insufficient to compel him to resign, and that some other cause especially induced him to form the wish; upon this he dwells, more feelingly and at large, in the following words—"But that which, to deal plainly, doth most of all trouble me, is the report of the broils in the College, which I see partly in other men's letters; for to myself, as if I were a cypher in Algorism, they vouchsafe not a word. That some Fellows are displaced by the visitors, others placed by mandate of my Lord Deputy, old grudges and factions revived, *et malè sarta gratia nequicquam coit et rescinditur.* I never delighted, nor am made for it, *ignem gladio fodere.* Some of my friends represented to me the examples of Mr. Travers and Mr. Alvey; and that comes to my mind—'better sit still than rise and fall.' 'Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.' It is written hither, and I have seen it with mine eyes, that I am said to be a weak man, and so thought to be by wise men. In all these regards I humbly beseech your Grace, by your undeserved love to me, (which God knows how much I value, and that it

was no small encouragement to me to enter into this business ;) by your love to the college, which I know is great ; by your love to the Lord Jesus Christ, whereof he takes that proof—your love to his lambs—dispose of my place, as you shall think most fit for that College, Universitie, Church, and Kingdom. For my part I do here absolutely resign all my interest unto it into your Grace's hands, or the hands of those whom it may concern." Assuring him then, that nothing but the fear of offending God could have made him to have undertaken so far, he concludes thus—" I desire of God, that neither my living, nor my life, may be so dear unto me, as to finish my course with joy, and the ministry that I have received of the Lord Jesus. Upon the receipt of your Grace's letters, I shall resolve presently, (if God let not,) to come or stay."

The individuals, Mr. Travers and Mr. Alvey, here alluded to, were the second and third Provosts of the College; and their insufficiency in this office must have been notorious, as well as that of the other Predecessors of Bedell, since we find Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, expressing himself thus, when writing to Ussher in March 1626, in the Letter already alluded to—" I send you Mr. Sibbs. I hope that the College shall in him have a very good master, which hitherto it hath not had."

In a Letter written four days after his former, Apr. 26. the Provost again desires to put the determination of his retirement, or otherwise, into

Ussher's hands. "Do not the College that wrong," he thus humbly and meekly expresses himself, "to clog it with me; hitherto it hath received no great damage, and these new broils may serve fitly as a good occasion to cover my defectiveness. That which Annibal, when, in the common council of Carthage, he plucked down a turbulent orator that stood up to dissuade a necessary peace, said to excuse his uncivility—that the feats of war he had meetly learned, but the fashions of the city he was to be taught by them—I would crave leave to invert. The arts of dutiful obedience and just ruling also, in part I did for seventeen years endeavour to learn, under that good father Dr. Chaderton, in a well-temper'd society; the cunning tricks of packing, siding, bandying and skirmishing, with and between great men, I confess myself ignorant in, and am now I fear too old to be taught. And methinks the Society itself, (like to the frogs in the tale, weary of the block set over them,) esteem me neither worthy to be acquainted with the College affairs, nor so much as answered in mine own; and, (wherein they do extremely wrong, not me only, but your Grace also,) as I verily believe, do keep your letters from me."

Such were the factious and uncivilized persons with whom it was Bedell's lot to cooperate; for, he had not, by the then constitution of the University, any power to control them; and it is scarcely to be wondered at, that his gentle spirit should shrink from the certain tempest. But it was on the

other hand his good fortune to possess in Ussher a true friend, who could rouse him from his despondency, on good grounds dissipate his fears, and animate him to endurance and perseverance, by the prospect of usefulness which he held out to him. We do not now possess the encouraging answer of Ussher, but its good effect on the resolutions of Bedell is manifest from his reply in these words.

"Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your Grace's exhortation, advising me to have faith in God, and not to consult with flesh and blood, nor have mind of this country. Now I would to God, that your Grace could look into my heart, and see how little I fear lack of provision, or pass upon any outward thing in this world; my chief fear in truth was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in the place; in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest retreat, I think no wise man can blame me to retain it; especially having understood that your Grace, whose authority I chiefly followed at the first, did from your own judgment, and that of other wise men, so truly pronounce of me, that I was a weak man. Now that I have received your letters, so full of life and encouragement, it puts some more life in me. For surely it cannot agree with that goodness and ingenuity of yours, praised among all God's graces in you by those that know you, to write one thing to me, and to speak another thing to others of me; or to go about to beguile my simplicity with fair words, laying in the mean while a net for my feet;

especially sith my weakness shall in truth redound to the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me thither."

Among the many broils within the College walls, there was one which, from its importance and its angry consequences, must have annoyed the Provost much ; it is especially alluded to in his letters, and recorded in the College Register, p. 14. There was one Mr. Lloyd, or Floyd, as his name appears in the latter document ; a Welchman ; a Fellow and Vice Provost of the University. The Provost, upon his return to England at Michaelmas 1627, had committed to him and to the Fellows the charge of its government; but his conduct in this situation soon proved to be so violent and unworthy, that four of the Fellows, discontented with it to the utmost degree, procured a visitation for the purpose of obtaining redress ; passing by, as it would appear, the influence or authority of the Provost. They alledged against Lloyd the following articles,—

1. "That he preferred some of his countrymen into scholler's places, denying the natives that were as sufficient, or at least equal to them that were so promoted."

2. "That he denied to prepound the natives that were competitors for fellowships, because Mr. Floyd his countryman was denied."

3. "That he kept some of the Colledge rents, (which should be received by the Burser;) and disbursed it, without the Burser's consent, or advice."

It was determined by the visitors thus—"Mr. John Floyd is deprived of his vice-provostship, pronounced noe Fellow, and adjudged uncapable of any office or government in the house hereafter; only he bee allowed his chambers, to have pupills, and the benefits of his lecture in Christ-church, untill he bee provided of a living, or his tyme be out, according to the Charter." There follows almost immediately in the Register the ensuing entry—"The visitation is deferred untill the 26th. of Easter terme next; the visitors expecting the Provost's return, which was not untill about the beginning of June after." It had been more proper to have expressed it, that the "visitation is adjourned;" as the term above used implies, in common meaning, that all its business was deferred; while there can be no doubt, from the expressions contained in a letter from the Provost to Ussher, that this matter was not so. That letter,* after mentioning the sudden death and funeral of Ambrose Ussher, alludes to Mr. Lloyd's business thus—"He demandeth of the Colledge not only his diet in his absence, which the statute expressly denies to a Fellow, (and which, if your Grace and visitors intended to grant him, you did him a favour instead of a punishment,) but wages for being a prime-lecturer; whereas his year came out at Midsummer, and he had till then his allowance, although he performed not the duty. But here is not all, for

* No. 135 in Parr's Appendix.

it seems he hopes, by the words of the decree, to hold all this till he be possessed of some ecclesiastical benefice, notwithstanding his term by the charter expires at Midsummer." The entire of this transaction, and these extracts, demonstrate the extreme insufficiency and irregularity that existed in the government of the College at the time.

The election of fellows and scholars, which had taken place during the absence of the Provost, was holden against his will. Your letters "of the 20th of September," he says, in his to Ussher of Ap. 1, 1628, "came not to my hands till the beginning of November. Upon the receipt whereof I wrote to the Vice Provost, to forbear to proceed to the election of Fellows, if it were not past before. Since that, I am sorry to understand, the success of that election was not such as gave satisfaction to your Grace, and hath bred a new broil in Colledge." We have the account of the reason of this in the Register, p. 14. The Fellows, as has been stated, had taken exception to the conduct of the Vice Provost "for propounding whom he pleased;" they, therefore, denied his brother Mr. William Floyd, who, "upon this repulse, procured the Lord Deputy's mandate to have him admitted as Fellow, alledging the election to be in the King's gift by lapse; and was thereupon admitted and sworne." Two others, "who sat formerly, procured the like liberty." Upon this followed the proceedings against the Vice Provost which have been already detailed. All this evil proceeded from the vicious principle of election,

liberty that was too great for the loose discipline of the age; it tempted the higher powers to interfere with arbitrary authority, and it occasioned a scandalous canvassing for preferment. Favour and influence were so exclusively attended to in the choice, that we find Mr. Bedell, when he thought it right to perform his duty in a just and independent manner, actually apologizing for doing so, on behalf of himself and the fellows; and expostulating even with Ussher in these terms *—"Of one thing I do assure myself, that your Grace, though it be in a sort necessary for you and all men of place to give satisfaction in words to importune suitors, will not take it ill that we discharge our consciences, coming to do acts upon oath, such as this is." The exercise of honest principle and independence was not at all understood, and the straight-forward course of Bedell was exceedingly impeded, by the allowances of a corrupted law of opinion, in an unprincipled and unenlightened age. Besides this, the Provost had no paramount authority to act; he possessed only an equal voice with any of the fellows; and, as each of them had a vote in the election, they were tempted to arrogate more than an equality of importance. † Mr. Bedell clearly per-

* Lett. 124. Parr's Appendix.

† The inefficient and undisciplined state of the government of the College is set forth in the strongest terms by the primate Ussher, in his letter to Archbishop Laud, (Let. 173) urging his Grace to accept of the Office of Chancellor of the University, upon the death of Archbishop Abbott; and to provide in some other way for his cousin Robert Ussher, the Provost, who was too mild a character for that troublesome office.—"The fellows are so

ceived that, from these and other causes, discipline under the existing constitution of the University could never be established ; and he determined to have such alterations attempted in the Charter and Statutes, as would make it more practicable of attainment. He perceived the great difficulties he had to contend with, in any attempt towards establishing order ; he had already experienced how inadequate were his means to overcome these in the contest ; and, with a clear and full sense of duty, and a firm resolution to perform it to the best of his ability, he wisely sought to correct the evil at its source. The charter of Elizabeth had not only erred in giving to the fellows too great liberty in the matter of election, and failed in establishing a sufficient authority in the Head of the College ; but had conferred upon the board the full power of making and repealing Statutes, which led to much confusion, turbulence, and abuse. Bedell therefore collected them, with alterations, into a complete code, drawn up principally after the model of Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; this code is nearly that which now regulates the University of

factious, that nothing could please them that came from their superiors ; and so idle, that they would not take pains to do the like themselves."—"There is so little power given to the Provost for redressing of things that are amiss, without the consent of the greater part of the Senior fellows, that they, finding thereby their own strength, perpetually join together in crossing whatsoever the Provost attempteth for reformation. So that the Provost, by this perverse dealing, being now made weary of his place, it were to be wished that some other preferment might be found for him : and one of a more rigid temper, and stouter disposition placed in his room ; for such a wedge, for the breaking of so evil a knot, must necessarily be used."

Dublin; but the statutes were not fixed by Charter, and by the proper authority, until afterwards in the 13th year of Charles II. although they were finished, transcribed and read in the Chapel, on Sept. 8, 1627. * The fellowships were made tenable for life; the power of enacting and repealing Statutes was reserved to the crown; the increase of fellows and scholars, the former to 16, and the latter to 70, was approved; and the office of Provost established to be donative in the Crown, and made to be more efficient in its power. Such were the most important of the remedies suggested by former evils; other useful enactments were contained in the new code, upon which it is unnecessary to dwell.

The Provost returned to Dublin and resumed his office on the 7th of June. It appears from the Diary, that he resigned his benefice in England on the 18th of June 1628; and that, about the same time, an additional provision was made for the expenses of his new situation, which he notices thus: "July 3, Petition to the Lord Deputy and Councell, about the concordatum for the £40, for the lecture, and increase of the Provost's maintenance, delivered by my Lord Primate; and delivered subscribed by the Councell, 13."† This Lord Deputy was Henry, Visc. Falkland; he had made a voluntary promise to Bedell of the Treasurership of St. Patrick's also.

* Diary. Under Nov. 1627 is the following entry—"University Statutes and Patent drawne, and the Coll. Statutes written out."

† See also Register, p. 16.

The £40 had been customary for this lecture at Christ's church, and the Provost's allowance;* it was an addition that was absolutely necessary to enable him to support the expenses of his office, and was at that period of some importance; although it would now perhaps be considered low wages for the Provost's butler.

There is in the College Register (p. 13) an entry in the following words, which records, although very inadequately, the services of Mr. Bedell while Provost. "His chief and prime care was to make up a compleate and perfect statute-booke, by freeing those that were doubtful or ambiguous afore, and by adding others that were wanting and not less necessary; as the appoynting of the Chapell for divine exercises, and administration of the Sacraments once every Terme, and at the festivalls of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost; the reading of a chapter in the Bible still before meales; the appoynting of two Common-places weekly in the chapell throughout the whole yeare, by the fellowes and mrs. (Masters,) in their courses. Soe likewise that noe Probationer or Junior fellowe hath, or ought to have, any voice in the election of a Provost, or in matters concerning the government of the Colledge. That noe marryed man should be admitted to be a Scholar or a Fellow; and that there should be but one Deane, whereas there were two in tymes past." This summary omits some of the most essential parts of the useful administration of Bedell,

* Parr, Let. 124.

which might have been properly reduced to the three heads, of reformation in the constitution, of improved discipline, and of encouragement given to Irish teaching.

At the end of this chapter will be added a selection from the Diary, which will justify the commendation which his government of the College has received from the Bishop of Sarum, that "it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made"—The character of the turbulent youths of the College is exhibited in a passage in a letter of Bedell's to Primate Ussher, bearing date March 5, 1628. It was the intention of the Corporation of the City of Dublin to have built some houses just close to the College-gate; a letter to the Mayor, Sheriffs, &c. of the City is extant in the Register (p. 15.), in which the Board request, for many reasons, that their intention should not be completed. A Mr. Arthur, who appears to have been their lessee, had proceeded so far as to inclose the ground for the purpose of building, stopping up the ordinary way of passage altogether. In consequence of a Petition from the College, a reference had been made to Ussher, the Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Dockra, and Lord Dillon respecting it, and it is to this that the following extract from the letter relates. "We have not yet delivered your Grace's return of the reference made to you at the Council Table, touching the inclosure of the Colledge gate, as having but lately received it. In the mean while the Scholars, upon St. Matthew's day at night, between

supper and prayer time, have pulled it all down every stick, and brought it away into the Colledge to several chambers; yet upon warning given, that night at prayers, that every man should bring into the quadrangle what he had taken away, there was a great pile reared up in the night, which we sent Mr Arthur word he might fetch away, if he would; and he did accordingly."

"This insolency, though it much grieved me, I could not prevent: I did publickly upon the reference pray them to quiet, signyfying our hope that we had of a friendly composition; but, when they heard that Mr. Arthur was off, they would no longer forbear." This is an account of a violent out-break, it is true, and against the express caution of the Provost; but the provocation was too great for the spirit of so wild and irregular a corps: and the subsequent general acquiescence of the indignant youths, in the remedial order, demonstrates that he had already learned how to rule, and that they had been partly taught how to obey.

We come now to an important head of improvement, to which the Provost directed much of his attention—that of instruction in the Irish language. On his return to Ireland in June 1628, he immediately caused the following Statute to be enacted, on June 28th—that "an Irish lecture is to be read publickly in the hall, when all the natives that have the £3 a yeare are enjoined to be present; as also at Irish prayers in the Chapell, upon holy days."*

* Reg. p. 15.

On the 19th of August it was also ordered:—"the natives to lose their weekly allowance, if they be absent from Irish prayers upon the Sunday:"*—and, shortly after his promotion, another order was made through his influence, which is thus recorded;—"An Irish chapter to be read in the Testament, by one of the natives at dinner in the hall; and soe to continue betweene twelve of the most proficientest, untill the rest be able to performe it; which we enjoin them all within half a yeare; or, in default thereof, to be deprived of their natives' stipend."†

It is difficult to ascertain the nature, or the amount, of encouragement first given to the native Irish, to come and study at the College of Dublin. It is asserted in the Diary, that a student to be a native, "must first be a scholar of the house;"‡ and this was the regulation until these places were abolished: under the date of July 29, 1629, in the same document, it is recorded also, that six natives were "admonished for often absence from Irish prayers;" their names are, all but that of one Burton, preceded by "Sir," the designation of a graduate. There was obviously much of error in this arrangement, as the young men should have been offered the encouragement at the commencement of their course. The names too of the six persons above mentioned, are none of them peculiarly Irish, but rather Welch; they are as follows:—

* Register p. 24. † Ibid p. 27. ‡ September 5, 1627.

Two Kerdiffes, Conway, Baker, Davis, and Burton. Thus early, therefore, there appears to have been good reason for King James, as he expresses himself in his letter respecting the College, "to think, that the governors of that house have not performed that trust imposed in them"—to wit "the breeding up the *natives* in civility, learning, and religion;"—and that "the revenues thereof have been otherwise employed."

By a College statute of Char. II., it is ordained, that the scholars of the house shall be 70, "e quibus 30 Hibernici sint;" it fixes their annual allowance at £3, and that of the other scholars at 10s.; it ordains that they shall be of the poorest, "modó digni sint:" but this encouragement again fell into abuse, and at length was entirely discontinued.

The Irish lecture was most highly approved of by the King, and by the Prelates, Laud and Ussher. In a letter written to the latter, when Bedell became Bishop of Kilmore, he asserts, that several persons trained in it were ready to their hand, to be employed in the ministry of the gospel through the medium of the native tongue. From another of these letters,* bearing date March 5, 1628, it appears that he was thus early employed in an Irish version of the book of Psalms. "Our translation," he says, "goeth on in the Psalms, and we are now in the 88th"—for it is strange to say, that the translation of the Psalms was not in the Common

* Letter 135.

Prayer book that was already published in the Irish tongue.* In another letter he writes about "the printing of the psalter, which I have caused to be diligently surveyed by Mr. P. Nangle; who advises not to meddle with the verse, but set forth only the prose." In all these, the Primate Ussher warmly co-operated with him. This was making considerable progress in the short space of two years, which were occupied considerably in other business, and in various and arduous improvements. Had the prudence, foresight, and zeal of these excellent men been adequately seconded, when it pleased the Lord at length to dissipate the cloud and calm the tempest, which for half a century afterwards darkened and disturbed this island—or rather, had these benign influences been continued at that period, when Boyle, and Marsh, and King did for a short time continue the efforts of Ussher, and of Bedell—we should now perhaps be enjoying that state of matured improvement, which another generation is likely to bestow upon Ireland, through the medium of our present collegiate system of enlightened instruction, and rational discipline.

Besides having this great object, the future ministry of the gospel in the Irish language, so steadily and constantly in view, the Provost was himself assiduous in instructing the young men in the principles of true religion. He catechised them in the College once in each week,† and preached to them

* Boyle's Works, I. p. 178.

† July 13, 1628. "Catechising on Sunday after dinner begun."—Diary.

on every Sunday. For the purpose of presenting them with one plain system of orthodox divinity, he gave to his sermons the character of lectures on the catechism of the Church of England, and divided them into fifty-two portions, allotting one to each Sunday in the year. These discourses he made to be both doctrinal and practical, that they might serve at once as lectures in divinity, and exhortations to piety and virtue. Bishop Burnet informs us, that many took notes of them, and copies of them were much inquired after; for, "as they were fitted to the capacities of his hearers, so they contained much matter in them for entertaining the most learned."

For the promotion of general learning Bedell is said to have made many salutary regulations; one of these is noticed in the Diary, Sept. 9, 1627, and in the Register, page 14; it was the appointment of "the use of the Latin tongue in the hall at meales." But in every step of his walk he met at first with prejudice and objection, and was grieved by low-minded suspicion. In a letter to Ussher already alluded to,* he thinks it necessary thus to apologize for a restriction introduced by him into the Statute for batchelors—"That they should be at the least of seven terms standing—wherein the Lord is witness, I respected merely the good of the College; and had not so much as in my thoughts the case of any that was to pretend to the next

* Letter 124.

election; but resolved, as every statute came to be considered, to reduce it to such perfection as there should be as little need as possible to touch them afterward. I have seen, by experience, that the timely preferring of young men makes them insolent and idle; and the holding them a little longer in expectation of preferment doth them more good in one year, than two years before, or perhaps after."

There was among the improvements contemplated by Mr. Bedell, one of enlarged character, of which he makes the following mention in his letter to Ussher *—"I suppose it hath been an error all this while to neglect the faculties of Law and Physic, and attend only to the ordering of one poor College of Divines; whereas, with a little more labour, and a few privileges attained, a great many more wits might have been allured to study, and seasoned with piety, and made instruments of bringing in learning, civility, and religion, into that country." He mentions his having communicated a plot or plan of his intended improvements, including some connected with this suggestion, to the English Primate, Abbot; this plan was approved by his Grace, who desired that it should be submitted to Ussher—"that it may be weighed with gold weights." Some trivial objections were made by Abbot, which are stated by Bedell in this letter. In it also he exhibits the characteristic gentleness

* Letter 126.

of his spirit, in the case of the deprived Vice-Provost, to whom, as he says, he "wrote to Dublin, endeavouring to let him see his fault, and to keep him from being hardened in it." We can indeed collect from the Diary, other instances of the benevolence of Mr. Bedell; for example, his giving to a Mr. Wigget, "out of his own purse, some testimonial of his love," on the refusal by the College of viaticum, which that gentleman had petitioned for; and the giving up one of his rooms to O'Fary, the converted priest who had been recommended to him by the Primate.

In this letter he gives an account of his conversation with the Archbishop of Canterbury;—it is told with a simplicity that will interest, although some of the topics are of little importance. "I left," he says, "with him the statutes of our Colledge, which I had this winter written out with mine own hand, and caused to be fair bound.* He retained them with him till the very morning of my departing from London——a point he disliked was touching students wearing gowns always in the Colledge, and *if it might be* when they went into the town; whereas *that* of all other, said he, should have been provided for. I answered, the streets in Dublin were very foul, and that by the statutes, scholars were not permitted to go ordinarily into the town without their tutor's consent. He said they might, if the streets were never so foul,

* These are preserved among the MSS. in the Library of the College.

take their gowns under their arms; I told him that this was also an old statute ere I came there. With that occasion I told his Grace of the new stirs I heard of in the Colledge; for, even but the day before, I had understood by other men's letters more perfectly, of my lord Deputy's putting in certain fellows, and of their displacing of Mr. Lloyd by your Grace and the visitors, whereof I had no intelligence till then, save by rumours only. I added, of my own fears, that I should make a very ill pilot in so rough seas; he persuaded me to go on, using that verse—*Tu ne cede malis*, &c. I told him of my deafness, and that the law not allowing *surdum procuratorem*, how could it be but absurd in the Provost of such a society? He told me, that was not so great a matter, for that a great many did *male audire*. He bad me not to be dismayed, representing to me the future reward; I told him, indeed if that were not, I had little encouragement. With these discourses, having brought his Grace from his chamber to his barge, I recommended myself to his prayers."

An extraordinary occurrence is noticed in the Register; upon page 18 is the copy of a writ, directed to the Provost, fellows, and scholars of the University, requiring of them to return two Burgesses to represent it in the approaching Parliament: the writ bears date the 22nd of Sept. 1628, and is followed by this entry—"The Provost "though in orders" and James Donnellane, our lawyer, are chosen Burgesses; but the Provost excusing himself,

Mr. Geralt is chosen for another." This Gentleman is more properly named Fitz Gerald in the Diary.

The period during which Mr. Bedell continued to be Provost was two years, and about a month; he was elected on the 16th of August 1627, and surrendered the office on the 18th of Sept. 1629.* Through the means of his ancient friend Sir Thomas Jermyn,† as Dr. Burnet states, but certainly with the zealous seconding of Laud, his services in the College were rewarded by his promotion to the united sees of Kilmore and Ardagh. The ensuing extracts from a letter written by Laud, at that time Bishop of London, to Ussher upon this occasion,‡ demonstrate how highly these services were estimated in England, and how much also they were traduced by his enemies—"I am glad Mr. Bedell's preferment gives your Grace so much contentment. I see nothing is so well done, but exceptions can fret it, for I hear that which I looked not for concerning Mr. Bedell's preferment." Again, alluding to what is expected of his successor—"My Lord, His Majesty would fain have a man go on where Mr.

* Reg. p. 13, 25.

† Some suppose it to have been done at the suggestion of Sir H. Wotton, but erroneously. The truth of the case appears to be related by Mr. Clogy, his biographer; his words are as follows—"This latter patron, Sir Thomas Germyn, did so highly own him and reverence him, as if he had been his father, and heard him gladly, and did many things for the good of himself and family at his word; for in all matters of state he stuck to him, and in trouble he vindicated him, and kept correspondence with him all his days in Ireland; and, when he least desired or expected it, he sent him a patent from the King for two Bishopricks of his own procurement."

‡ App. of Parr's Life, let. 142.

Bedell leaves;" and—"The King likes wondrous well of the Irish lecture, begun by Mr. Bedell." Still further, a very special testimony of his usefulness, as head of the College, is afforded by the expressions of King Charles I, contained in his letter already alluded to, in which he inhibits the proceeding to the election of a successor, until his further pleasure be known;* they are as follows. "As we were pleased, by our former gracious letters, to establish the said W. Bedell, by our Royall authority, in the Provostship of the said Colledge of the blessed Trinity neare Dublin; where we are informed that, by his care and good government, there hath bene wrought great reformation, to our singular contentment; soe we purpose to continue our sayd care of that Society, being the principall Nursery of Religion and learning in that our Realme; and to recommende unto the Colledge some such person, from whom we may expect the like worthy effects for their good, as we and they have found from Mr. Bedell." This letter bears date "16th Aprilis, 1629."

The following passage in the Diary exhibits a view of the funds of the College, at this time. It appears that several sums of money had been subtracted from a chest, in which the College treasure was deposited for safe keeping, and which was in the custody of the bursar. The Diary, under the date of Dec. 20, 1628, contains the following entry—"A survey

* Reg. p. 22.

of the state of the chest, from the first inhabiting the house; by which appears, that, when Mr. Johnson entered upon his Bursarship, there ought to have been in the chest £693 13s. 1d., where there was only found £80; and £28 was put in after, Sept. 7, 1626; in toto £108. Add also the money imprest for brewing, which Mr. Stepneth is to answer, viz, £40; and £50 taken out by Mr. Temple, without consent. So the chest hath lost £495 13s. 1d., of that only which it is accounted to have received; besides what is in arreare, and was never received, or perhaps never putt in."

A considerable number of entries in the Register and Diary relate to renewals of the College leases, and other pecuniary circumstances; it is not necessary to connect them with the Provostship of Bedell, but the following must not be omitted.—"1628, Nov. 12. Survey of the revenues and disbursements of the Colledge, to take a course that it grow not in debt. The meanes, 1. Admission, or plate money to goe to the chest; 2. The Provost to pay for his Commons; 3. Natives holden up at 20"—(I presume a limit for a time to their number)—"4. The 10s. lately increased in scholler's stipends forborne; and two Junior fellowships unelected." Such was the penury in its infancy of this now wealthy establishment; its estates appear to have been as yet of comparatively little value, and its resources from its inmates were very insignificant; yet was it found to be a worthy subject for both embezzlement, and intrigue.

It will, in concluding this part of Bedell's career, be advisable to present a few of the notes of the Diary, which relate merely to College discipline in trivial occurrences, during the last year of his Provostship. It may serve to exhibit a curious and just character of the times and persons with whom he had to deal, the external difficulty of establishing order in a place which had so long been misgoverned, the temperate steadiness of the Provost in dealing with all classes of individuals, and the value of such a mode of proceeding in its results.

" 1628. Aug. 21. Sir Hoile, for striking one Frize, who thereupon complained to the Maior and was remitted to us, was adjudged to be punished a moneths' commons ; the money to be given to the person whom he strake, and to confesse his fault in the hall. This was signified to the Maior, by the Provost and Mr. Thomas.

" Aug. 23. Sir Hoile's acknowledgment of his fault in the Hall.

" Sept. 3. Mr. Price, for condemning his seniour, and replying against the Deane in the execution of his office, multed a moneth's commons.

" Sept. 13. Mr. Price's censure taken off by consent.

"Sept. 23. Deane and Wilson multed a moneth's commons for their insolent behaviour—salting and striking the butler "—(it is presumed that this is meant for assaulting) " which was presently changed into sitting at the lower end of the schol-

ler's table for a moneth, and subjecting them to the rod.

"Nov. 2. Stephen Wilson and Gilbert Deane, when their moneth was ended of sitting at the lower table, confessed their fault publickly, and their stubbornes.

"Dec. 28. John Wittar admonished for playing at cardes.

"Jan. 10. Complaint of Underwood for striking Mr. Viel's man, (who had a lanthorne taken from him), with a club. Underwood punished a moneth commons according to statute; which, after one weeke, was turned into a publick confession of his fault in the hall.

"Jan. 28. Thomas Walworth, refusing to reade chapter, admonished and enjoined to make a confession of his fault upon his knees in the hall; which he did, acknowledging that he deserved expulsion.

"Feb. 3. Somner, Deane, and Eliot appointed to sit bare, for going out of the hall before grace; and not performing that, made to stand by the pulpitt.

"May 1. T. Burton, for striking Dodwell, punished a moneth's commons; and, this being the 2nd time of his striking, he was to have lost three moneth's commons, but upon his knees in the hall he *subjected* himself to the taking a like blow, and asking pardon.

"May 12. The Sophisters purposed supper to the

batchelors—prevented by sending for them, and forbidding them to attempt it.

"June 9. It was agreed this day, to declare publickly our intention, to proceed against such as neglected Catechisms and Lectures, used Tavern haunting, especially going out without gownes—by the statute against those that make the Colledge ill spoken of for neglect of government, Cap. 9. First to admonish; Secondly, a moneth's commons; Thirdly, to some heavier censure. This was published in the Chappell.

"May 22. All the Fellowes and Mrs. absent from prayers, being Sunday; (save Mr. Jordan and Mr. Price.) The Deane bidden to look to his duty.

"June 23. Mr. Underwood disputed for his degree in presence of the Bishop of Fearns; and defended many erroneous and false opinions, in the course of his answering.

"June 25. Mr. Underwood's positions shortly censured by the Provost, after the end of Divinity probleme.

"July 1. Mr. Underwood's retractation in the Chappell. Another under his hand, the same day, before the congregation.

"August 6. Mr. Bunbury complained of Mr. Price for giving him *the lye*, &c.; Mr. Price of him for opposing him in his office, in this forme, 'summum jus, summa injuria.' It was thought the terme *the lye* was not so civill; and the greater part of the fellows did not account that

Mr. Price was scandalized in the execution of his office. He was reproved by the Provost.

"' August 10. Complaint to my Lord Deputy of Bodkins, a broken merchant, labouring to seduce the scholars of the College, and convey them into Spaine. Sir Walworth and Camb. Griffith brought to confront him. He was committed to the Marshalsea, and to send suretyes for his good behaviour.

" August 11. Martyn Bodkin's petition.

" August 19. The natives to loose their weekely allowance, if they be absent from praiers on the Lord's day.

" August 22. The Vice-provost for omission of acts punished. Also Mr. Travers and Mr. Fitz-Gerald, Mr. Jordan and Mr. Lisiagh" (Lysaght,) " for omission of sermons. The last was for three Sundayes absence from prayers, 1s. a tyme.

" August 24. M. Bodkins to the Lord Deputy, referred to the Provost, who professed to rest satisfied in what his Lordship should doe.

" August 28. Sir Springham to render accompt of the omitting his declaration; sayd to keep a hawke, not to come to prayers.

" August" (should be Sept.) "Rawley for drunkenes, to be denied further maintenance from the Colledge; especially, having added to his fault, the knocking of Stranck his head against the seate in the Chappell."

This is the only instance of apparent severity in the record; and it was well deserved, not only

by the immorality, violence and indecency here mentioned, but by there being a continuance of serious offences formerly, but slightly, punished.

" Sept. 5. Booth, for taking up a pig of Sir Samuel Smith's, and that openly in the day tyme before many, and causing it to be dressed in towne; inviting Mr. Rollo and Sir Conway, (who knew not of it;) condemned to be whipped openly in the hall, and pay for the pig."

This specimen of these entries will suffice to shew the nature of Bedell's government, his fitness for the office of Provost, and his success in somewhat improving the College in order and discipline, and especially in morals. They prove also, that he had to struggle against irregularity and negligence in the teachers themselves; and that he was not deterred, by any circumstance, from performing his duty with proper steadiness and well-timed indulgence. His active mind was not however contented with all these occupations; and it appears, from one of the letters in Parr's Appendix,* that he was, at the time of writing it, engaged in examining and attempting to decypher the almost illegible papers of Vice-Provost Chaloner, with the intention of writing a History of the College, and its foundation.

* Letter 135.

CHAPTER IV.

EPISCOPAL LIFE OF DR. BEDELL, FROM THE PERIOD OF HIS PROMOTION TO THE BISHOPRICS OF KILMORE AND ARDAGH.—A.D. 1630 to A.D. 1641.

WE have already considered the unpropitious character of the national feelings with respect to religion, when Bedell was appointed Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh; the external state of the Protestant Church establishment was not less unpromising than its internal; and these two Dioceses were situated in a part of the country but little favorable to their prosperity, especially as in them was the residence of the Roman Catholic Primate himself. The difficulties to be encountered in any attempt at reforming abuses were great; but they had no influence upon the mind of the new Bishop. Although in the 59th year of his age, he undertook the charge with alacrity, determination, and zeal—with such an account as Burnet, himself a prelate of the church, presents us of the great moving principle of this venerable old man, commencing his abundant and important labors, it would ill become me to insert one in its place. "He considered the Bishop's office made him the shepherd of the inferior shepherds, if not of the whole Diocese; and therefore he resolved to spare him-

self in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of religion among them: and he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them; since the forms of church government must appear amiable and valuable to the world, not so much for the reasonings and arguments which learned men use concerning them, as from the real advantages that mankind find from them. So that he determined, with the great Nazianzen, 'to give wings to his soul, to rescue it wholly from the world, and to dedicate it to God;' and not to think it enough to perform his duty in such a manner as to pass through the rest of his life without reproach; for, according to that Father, this was to "weigh out virtue by small weights"—"He saw he would fall under some envy, and meet with great oppositions; but he considered that as a sort of martyrdom for God; and resolved cheerfully to undergo whatsoever uneasy things he might be forced to suffer, in discharge of his conscience and his duty."

The miserable state of the established church in Ireland, in the reign of Charles I, is summed up in the following petition, of the prelates assembled in convocation in the year 1635, to that Prince. It set forth.—"That in the whole Christian world, the rural clergy have not been reduced to such extreme contempt and beggary as in this your

Highness' kingdom, by the means of so frequent appropriations, commendams, and violent intrusions into their undoubted rights, in times of confusion; having their churches ruined, their habitations reft and desolate, their glebes concealed, and by inevitable consequence an invincible necessity of a general non-residency imposed upon them"—so that, as Mr. Carte describes it, "in the whole province of Connaught there was scarce a vicar's pension which exceeded 40s. a year, and in many places they were but 18s." Several of the Bishops were "reduced to £50 a year, as Waterford and Kilfenora and others; and some to five marks, as Cloyne and Kilmacduagh. And, as scandalous livings naturally make scandalous ministers, the clergy of the Established Church were generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irreligious in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures, and very careless in observing uniformity and decency in divine worship." * As an instance of the abuse, Wentworth writes thus to Archbishop Laud†—"I am informed that my Lord Clanricarde hath engrossed as many parsonages and vicarages, as he hath mortgaged for £4000 fine, and £80 rent; but in faith have at him, and all the rest of the ravens. I spare no man among them, let no man spare me. Howbeit, I foresee that this is so universal a disease, that I shall incur a number of men's displeasure of the best rank amongst

* Carte's Ormonde, I. 68. † Ibid I. 299.

them;" and again,—"I have sent for the Archbishop of Cashel, but his Grace returns he is ill of the sciatica, and not able to travel—likes not, I believe, to come to a reckoning. In good faith, my Lord, his Grace hath beguiled me, and keeps his 16 vicarages still. But I will roundly prepare for him a purge as soon as I see him."

The particular circumstances of Kilmore and Ardagh in 1622, appear in a valuable document of the highest authority, Primate Ussher's Visitation book, preserved among the MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. From it and other sources we find, that in these Dioceses, besides the two Deaneries and Archdeaconries, there were 64 benefices, of which about 20 of the incumbents were non-residents. The rest being residents, or at least serving their respective cures with assistance of about 10 curates; of these two are particularly noted as ministers "of the country by birth," and two others as being "capable of reading service in the Irish tongue."

It appears also that "several of the cures in this Diocese were served by the same minister, and some were not served at all for want of means; the tithes in such cases altogether subtracted from the vicar, or curate, by the impropriator; and in one case, the curate being locked out of the church, and not suffered to do the duty, by the Earl of Westmeath, an impropriator to a large amount. The churches in repair were 14, and one was in building; those that were not well repaired,

or were ruinous, were 55. There were 13 habitable Parsonage-houses, on the other benefices there were none; but 13 of the Incumbents were bound to build. In the County of Leitrim, the glebes for the most part are laid out in the most unprofitable places, and remotest from the church, howsoever his Majesty gave directions to the contrary." Corruption also, we are informed, had crept into the administration of all things sacred, so that they were shamefully exposed to sale, and there was scarcely any thing in the Diocese that was sound. In the year 1630, Bishop Bedell found this additional evil to exist, that the revenues of his sees had been much wasted by excessive dilapidations; and it must have been painful to him to have been put under the necessity, in the first instance, of suing for his rights, to enable him even to subsist. His predecessor, Bishop Moigne, had leased out all the Episcopal lands for as long as he possibly could; had taken very great fines, and reserved but inconsiderable rents. "He had sold some perpetual advowsons which ought not to be done; and, upon the ruins of these two stript bishopricks, had founded his family, and purchased a seignory for his son." * "Therefore my Lord of Kilmore commenced a suit against his widow Mistresse Moigne, and his sonne Roger Moigne, and so recovered somewhat of the spoyle." In addi-

* These facts are related by Mr. Clogy, who commences this part of his Memoir by informing us, that "of this his last station of life I can give some larger account," as an "eye-witness."

tion to this, Sir Edward Bagshaw, Kt. and Sir Francis Hamilton, as appears from a petition addressed by the Bishop to the Lord Deputy, Viscount Falkland, had violently entered on, and unjustly detained from him, certain portions of both the termon and mensal lands that belonged to the see of Kilmore.

The following letter from the Bishop of Kilmore to Bishop Laud, will further describe the state of his Diocese.

Kilmore, April 1, 1630.

" Right Rev. Father, my hon. good Lord,

SINCE my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time, the settling of the state of the Colledge, and my Lord Primate's visitation deferred my consecration,) I have not been unmindful of your Lordship's commands, to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the church; which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my Dioceses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate: and shortly, to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick, together with the bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there,

(which are not the tenth part of the remnant,) obstinate recusants. A popish clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their Vicar-general and officials; who are so confident as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes; which affront hath been offered myself by the Popish Primate's Vicar-general, for which I have begun a process against him. The Primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop in another part of my Diocese further off. Every parish has its priest; and some two or three a piece, and so their mass-houses also; in some places mass is said in the churches. Fryers there are in diverse places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people; who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double tythes to their own clergy and ours; from the dearth of corn, and the death of their cattle these late years; with the contributions to their souldiers and their agents; and, which they forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the court Ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my Lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For our own, there are seven or eight ministers in each diocese of good sufficiency; and, (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in Popery still,) English—which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold

many of them two, three, four, or more vicarages a piece. Even the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three, or more upon one man, and ordinarily bought or sold, or let to farm. His Majesty is now, with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, King—but at the Pope's discretion.

WILLIAM KILMORE AND ARDAGH."

The first evil that the Bishop attempted to remove, was that of Pluralities. It is obvious that this was a gross abuse in every point of view; in the first place, it was impossible that the cure of souls could be adequately attended to; there was much to be done in watching over their spiritual concerns, besides a mere performance of the offices prescribed by the rubric, and even these must often be neglected; and clergymen were solemnly bound, by their vows at their ordination, to the duty of feeding and instructing the flock committed to their care—an obligation that is personal, and could not properly be deputed—it was now performed so, as Burnet expresses it, that "most of the pluralists did mind all their parishes alike, that is, they neglected all equally." This corruption was considered, by Bishop Bedell, to be one of the "most deadly and pestilent diseases" of the protestant church in Ireland, at the time. "Whence," he asks, in a letter to the Primate, "Whence flow the ignorance of the people, the neglect of God's wor-

ship, and defrauding the poor of the remains of dedicate things, the ruine of the mansion-houses of the ministers, the desolation of the churches, the swallowing up of parishes by the farmers of them, but from this fountain? There may be cause, no doubt, why sometimes, in some place, and to some man, many churches may be committed; but now that, as appears by the late certificates, there are, besides the titular Primate and Bishop, of priests in the dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh sixty-six, of ministers and curates but thirty-two, of which number also three whose wives come not to church—in this so great odds as the adversaries have of us in number, (to omit the advantage of the language, the countenancing of the nobility and gentry), is it a time to commit many churches to one man?"

Most promising is that attempt at Reformation which commences with the Reformer himself: while it demonstrates sincerity, and removes all grounds for suspecting a sinister object, it is almost always a movement resulting from experience, which is far better than the wisdom of the fullest report. Bishop Bedell, considering the evil to be countenanced by the union of the dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh in his own person, so that he could not either conscientiously, or reasonably, require that of others, which he neglected to do himself, exhibited an example of disinterestedness, which in the dilapidated state of his revenues he could ill afford, and resigned the See of Ardagh. The

example was the more likely to have effect, as he was fully competent to discharge, of himself, the duties of both the Sees; and had been at considerable expense in recovering the revenues of Ardagh.

There is no doubt that, in the flourishing times of primitive Christianity in Ireland, and indeed in most parts of Christendom, the jurisdiction of Bishops was very limited in extent of space; and, without giving credit to the assertion of Nennius, that St. Patrick founded 365 sees in this island, or at least appointed so many bishops, their number was certainly at first considerable. The present diocese of Meath, for instance, is an union of several ancient and independent Sees. By a canon of the general council holden A. D. 1152, by Cardinal Paparo at Kells, adopted and enforced by a synod of Simon, bishop of Meath in 1216, the bishoprics of Athenry, Clonard, Kells, Slane, Screen, and Dunshaglin, were merged into one, and were made to be rural deaneries of the bishopric of Meath. Clonmacnoise was added, A.D. 1568, by act of Parliament; and Trim, Duleek, Arbraccan, and Fore, had at one time been separate Sees.* All this was a Romish and modern innovation upon the simpler and wiser system of the early Irish church; a system which, in some degree, evidenced the oriental origin of the latter, for in the east, village bishops abounded, under the name of Chorepiscopi.† It is indeed clear from a passage in

* Harris' Ware.

† Dr. Ledwich's account of Aghaboe, in Stat. Survey of Ireland, Vol. 1. p. 25.

Bernard's life of Malachy, that, even in the life-time of that prelate, the Irish system of Episcopacy differed much from the Roman, and that the Romanists were most anxious to innovate upon it; for he tells us, that the Irish metropolitans multiplied, and changed bishops, at their pleasure; and that one See was not contented with one bishop, but almost every church had one.

But this primitive state of things was very much altered at the commencement of the 17th Century; and Ussher, who favoured the system of the eastern church, and Bedell, could not but have been displeased at seeing the Sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, committed to one individual—George Montgomery, a Scotsman, a favourite of James I. It was likewise manifest that the prelates of that age assumed too high and busy a station, as temporal lords; and also, that they yielded to the snares of family aggrandizement, as well as to those of ambition—evils that would in no wise be lessened, by adding to the temptation which extended authority and patronage must afford, to great luxury, nepotism, and pride. The humble and pastoral sentiments of Bedell, relating to his office of bishop, appear from several interesting facts detailed in his life; and we may presume that all these considerations combined with his decided resolution to abolish pluralities, in influencing his determination, to commit the episcopal care of the See of Ardagh to another.

The manner in which Bishop Bedell proceeded

in this business was exceedingly temperate and wise, and its result was great and unexpected success. He called his clergy together, and affectionately addressed them from the pulpit on the subject—he laid before them, out of scripture, the antiquity and institution, the nature and duties of the ministry of the gospel of Christ. After the sermon he addressed them in Latin, as his brethren and fellow-presbyters; and, not appearing to assume the least civil pre-eminence over them, he exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse, which, as it brought a heavy scandal upon the church, and gave their adversaries great advantages against them, so it must very much endanger their own souls, and the souls of their flocks." He then afforded them the example by resigning Ardagh to Dr. Richardson. All his clergy, with one only exception, when thus appealed to, answered and said with a loud voice —"as thou hast said, so must we do"—and freely and unanimously relinquished their pluralities.

This person was the Dean, Doctor Bernard; who was still so ashamed of his conduct afterwards, that, unwilling to continue in the Diocese, he exchanged his Deanery for that of Ardagh, with Dr. Henry Jones, a son of the Bishop of Killaloe, one whom we shall hereafter more particularly notice as Bishop of Meath. Bernard was Chaplain to the Primate, and afterwards his biographer.

Mr. Clogy informs us, that this resignation was made by Bedell, "under his hand and seal for ever, before many eminent witnesses." I do not

know that any further notice of the transaction, than the mere mention of the fact, is taken by any of those who record it; and yet, by its operation, the bishop virtually added one to the number of his brethren on the bench, and brought into existence a new peer, who sat with him in the convocation and parliament of 1634. The sees of Kilmore and Ardagh had been united in one individual in 1603; and again, in the person of Dr. Bedell, who separated them in 1633: they were reunited in 1660.

We shall follow up this account of the bishop's conduct in respect to pluralities to the end; and not interrupt it by any detail of other events, which may have been somewhat prior in point of time. It appears from a letter which was written by Bedell to the Primate, respecting the conduct of the Dean to him on this occasion, that a proposal had been made by a Mr. Hilton, to resign the benefice of Kildromfarten in the Dean's favor, which was seconded by the Primate—"but so as I easily conceived," are the words of Bedell, "that, being solicited by your old servant, you could do no less than you did"—to this proposal the bishop answered, with professions of his love and good opinion of the Dean, that he "did not know the place, nor the people, but, if they were mere Irish, he did not see how he should discharge his duty to them." However, on the Dean's pressing him, he did consent, that, if without his concurrence the Primate would confer that living upon him, he

"would not be against it." About seven months after this the bishop was much surprised at the Dean's bringing to him a presentation to Kildromfarten, under the broad seal,—a very irregular practice, but at that time by no means uncommon. "I could do no less," says the bishop, "but signifie to the incumbent, who came to me and maintained his title, requiring me not to admit. Whereupon I returned the presentation, indorsing the reason of my refusal; and, being then occasioned to write to the Lord Justices, I signified what I thought of these pluralities, in a time when we are so far over-matched in number by the adverse part. This passed on till the visitation, wherein Mr. Dean shewed himself in his colours. When the vicar of Kildromfarten was called, he said he was the vicar, but would exhibit no title. After, the curate Mr. Smith signified to me, that his stipend was unpaid, and he feared it would be still, in the contention of the two incumbents. Upon these and other reasons I sequestered the profits, which, I have heard, by a simoniacal contract betwixt them, should be for this year the former incumbent's. Neither did Mr. Dean write or speak a word to me hereabout, till the day before the communion in the inclosed. That very morning I was certified that he purposed to appeal your Grace, which made me, in answer to his next, to add—'Quod facias, fac sitius.'

The Bishop had two most serious reasons for opposing the Dean's wishes in this affair; first, his determination to destroy existing pluralities,

and not to admit of new ones; and secondly, the Dean's ignorance of the Irish language. "Is it a time," he writes, "to commit many churches to one man, whom I will not disable, and he saith he hath a very able interpreter, and I think no less—(which made me once to say, that I would rather confer the benefice of Kildromfarten upon *him*, than upon himself, which resolution I do yet hold.) But what hath he done in the parishes already committed to him, for the instruction of the Irish, that we should commit another to him? He that cannot perform his duty to one without an helper, or to that little part of it whose tongue he hath, is he sufficient to do it to three? No, it is the wages is sought, not the work."

It appears that the Dean had acted at the first an unchristian part in this transaction; he not only conducted himself with much violence and disrespect to his Bishop, but he misrepresented the case to the Primate, and publicly traduced him in his Grace's pulpit at Cavan. He likewise protested against his visitation; but in the end he appears to have been somewhat ashamed of his conduct. At the time of Bedell's letter to Ussher, he had given occasion to the Bishop to write of him thus—"Although his high heart cannot give his tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it;" and that letter contains an account of what appears to have been the close of the business—an interesting scene, that depicts the simple

and somewhat primitive manner of the times. It would appear that some interference of the Primate with his chaplain had produced an effect upon his conduct, and led to the following occurrence, which is thus related by Bedell. "As I was at the Lord's table, beginning the service of the communion before the Sermon, he came in; and after Sermon was done, he stood forth and spake to this purpose. That whereas the book of common prayer requires, that before the Lord's supper, if there be any variance or breach of charity, there should be reconciliation, this was much more requisite between ministers; and, because they all knew that there had been some difference between me and him, he did profess, that he bare me no malice nor hatred, and if he had offended me in any thing, he was sorry. I answered, that he had good reason to be sorry, considering how he had behaved himself; for my part I bare him no malice, and, if it were in my power, would not make so much as his finger ache. Grieved I had been that he, in whom I knew there were many good parts, would become an instrument to oppose the work of God, which I was assured he had called me to. This was all that passed. He offered himself to the Lord's board. After dinner he preached out of 1 John iv. 21.—'And this commandment have we from him, that he that loveth God love his brother also'—When we came out of the church, Dr. Sheridan delivered me your Grace's Letters; and thus Mr. Dean thinks he hath healed all, as you may per-

ceive by his next letters of August 30. Only he labours about Kildromfarten." The Dean had not yet acquired sufficient Christian moderation to give up completely his point; but it is probable that it was soon arranged, through the influence of the Primate. The Bishop exhibited throughout a proper feeling of charity towards the Dean, with anxious wishes and prayer, that he might at length be induced to act in a more reasonable and liberal manner—" God make him," he says, " an humble and modest man."*

Intimately connected with the destruction of pluralities, was the compelling of the clergy to reside; but in accomplishing this the Bishop had to encounter most serious difficulties. King James had, upon the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, given order in the settlement of Ulster, that glebe-lands should be assigned to the clergy, upon which they were to build houses " forty foot long, and thirty foot high," within a limited time; but the commissioners appointed to put these orders into execution, of whom Sir William Parsons was the chief, had neglected the conveniences of the clergy. In nine cases out of ten they allotted glebes that were not within the parishes, and mostly set them out in different parcels, at a distance from each other; the ministers were therefore in many instances obliged, either to have houses remote from their lands, or to build out of their benefices. It

* Dean Bernard afterwards, in his character of Bedell, published A. D. 1659, bestows high eulogy on that prelate.

was fortunate that the bishop had within his power a remedy for this; he possessed lands which were assigned to him in every parish, these therefore he was resolved to exchange with the glebe lands of his clergy of equal value. For this purpose he procured a commission from the Lord Lieutenant to certain persons, to examine into the value of the several portions of land, and to settle the terms of the exchange. One of these was the celebrated Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry; "whom I," says Mr. Clogy, "and all there present heard say these words; that he had told Sir William Parsons, that if all the Jesuits of the church of Rome had conspired together to hinder the propagation of the gospel in Ulster, they could not have contrived it more effectually than they had done in these so inconvenient assignments." The matter was arranged by these commissioners so as to give universal satisfaction in the diocese; but, as the king's great seal was necessary to the confirming of the arrangement, and the procuring of this created a delay, the rebellion broke out before it was concluded. The bishop however never bestowed a benefice upon any person, without requiring of him an oath of perpetual and personal residence, and that he would hold with it no other; and he prevailed upon all his clergy to reside in their several parishes, excepting one only, whom he permitted to be non-resident. This individual's name was Johnston; he was a man of mean education, and of "quick parts, but they lay more to the mechanical

than to the spiritual architecture;" and he was employed by the Earl of Strafford, as his engineer, in some great buildings which he was erecting at Naas, and in the County of Wicklow. However, the bishop was determined to turn his ingenuity and ability, which were considerable, to account; he therefore proposed to him a scheme for composing an universal character, which might be equally intelligible to all nations. The bishop shewed him that, as there were universal mathematical characters, the other was practicable also; and he drew himself the scheme. Johnston readily undertook the work, and actually proceeded so far with it as to send it to the press; some part of the book, called the Witspell, was even printed, but he was prevented from finishing it by the great rebellion.

The steadiness of Bedell on these points of residence and pluralities, was often put to the test; and he refused to yield his principle in favor of those whom he otherwise most wished to promote. Thus he would not dispense with it even in the case of a relation of the great Buchanan, and one who bore his name; although he was personally anxious to serve him for his own sake, and still more for "that of his relative, whose paraphrase of the Psalms he loved beyond all other Latin poetry."

A third matter of reformation to which Bedell found it necessary to turn his immediate attention, was that of the bishops' courts; that of his diocese had grown into an intolerable abuse. His chancellor, Dr. Allen Cooke, was the judge; he was a

layman, and a person of very bad character:—"of all," says the bishop in a letter to the Primate, "that have exercised jurisdiction in this land these late years, he is the most noted man, and most cried out upon"—mentioning a disgraceful nickname, by which he was known among the Irish, and one especially unsuitable to the character of the Judge of an Ecclesiastical court. As he purchased his situation from his predecessor, he considered that he had a fair "right to all the profits that he could raise out of it:" the whole business therefore, seemed to be nothing but extortion and oppression; "for," says Burnet, "it is an old observation, that men who buy justice will also sell it. Bribes went about almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of penance for money was the worst sort of simony, being in effect the very same abuse that gave the world such scandal, when it was so indecently practised in the church of Rome, and opened the way to the Reformation; for the selling of indulgences is really but a commutation of Penance." It should be remarked, that the penance here referred to was very different indeed from that sacrament in the church of Rome, which, with its connections of auricular confession, absolutions, and indulgences, forms one of the worst practical evils of that corrupted church; especially in this, that it is there a sacrament, by which "we receive forgiveness of those sins committed after baptism,"* and *by the performance of which* "*we*

* Catec. R. C. p. 52.

satisfy God"—thus blending its merits with the work that was "finished" upon the cross.

The penance here alluded to was an early and most wholesome practice of the churches of England and of Ireland; intended only for the punishment of offences, correcting abuses, and amending the sinner's ways, thus purifying the church by useful discipline; and, as regarded the individual, promoting the sanctification of one who already was, by profession, a member of its body. The character of this penance is clearly defined by our church itself, in its service of commination, which refers to it at its commencement, thus:—"Brethren, in the primitive church there was a godly discipline, that, at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be more afraid to offend."

This was all ordained, in obedience to the scriptural direction to which it refers—"to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus"—and the perversion of the rite, by the Romish Church, is thus quaintly and strongly expressed by Archbishop Ussher, in his religion of the antient Irish—"by the new device of sacramental penance the matter is now easily transacted; by virtue of the keyes the sinner is instantly of attrite made contrite; and thereupon, as soon

as he has made his confession, he presently receiveth his absolution; after this some sorry *penance* is imposed, which, upon better consideration, may bee converted into *pence*, and so a quicke end is made of many a foule businesse." In this way crept in those shameful indulgences, sold from the treasury of the church in heaven, as issuing, first from the "superabundant satisfaction of Christ," and then "from the overflowing satisfactions of the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the other saints;" and precisely this was one of the evils in his courts, which Bishop Bedell so properly and anxiously determined to remedy. The Bishop thus expressed his opinion on these subjects, in a letter to the Primate, bearing date Feb. 15, 1629.

"Amongst all the impediments to the work of God amongst us, there is not any one greater, than the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is not only the opinion of the most godly, judicious, and learned men that I have known; but the cause of it is plain. The people pierce not into the inward and true reasons of things, they are sensible in the purse; and that religion that makes men that profess it, and shews them to be despisers of the world, and so far from encroaching upon others in matter of base gain as rather to part with their own, they magnifie. This bred the admiration of the Primitive Christians, and after of the monks. Contrary causes must needs produce contrary effects. Wherefore let us preach never so painfully, and piously; I say more,

let us live never so blamelessly ourselves, so long as the officers in our courts prey upon them, they esteem us no better than publicans and worldlings: and so much the more deservedly, because we are called spiritual men, and call ourselves reformed Christians." Bedell then proceeds to express himself to the Primate, with characteristic honesty and boldness—"I have been wont also to except one court; but trust me, my Lord, I have heard that it is said among great personages here, that my Lord Primate is a good man, but his court is as corrupt as others." The Christian world had not perhaps ever produced a greater, or a better man, than the Primate James Ussher—I shall not abridge the exalted and well-merited character that is given of him by the Bishop of Sarum, where, recording these transactions, and others respecting the abuses of visitations, he says—"together with his great and vast learning, no man had a better soul, and a more apostolical mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian. For passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature; so that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived. He spent much of his time in those two best exercises, secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in

which those many volumes that came from him, shewed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. But no man is entirely perfect—he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses, and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses; and confessed the tolerating those abominable corruptions, that the canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon a church that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But, though he prayed for a more favourable conjuncture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on. It is very likely," continues Burnet, "that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to dye; for he prayed often, and with great humility,—that God would forgive him his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty: and those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him; which was the only allay that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more vene-

ration than was fitting.* His physician Dr. Bootius, who was a Dutchman, said truly of him—"if our Primate of Armagh were as exact as a disciplinarian, as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth, and preaching the gospel, he might without douht deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom."

The Primate, although he greatly admired the vigor of mind with which Bedell set himself upon reforming these abuses, yet he afforded him but little aid; he told him, that the tide was so high that he could assist him no more; and "that it was a difficult thing, if not impossible, to overthrow a patent so confirmed;" and the other Bishops, while they exhorted Bedell to proceed, did not stand by him in the conflict. But Bedell, although he stood alone, was determined upon the conscientious performance of that which he considered to be his duty; he resolved therefore to sit and judge

* Dr. Parr, the biographer of Primate James Ussher, is much offended at this passage from Bishop Burnet's Memoir; and asserts that the Bishop changed his mind respecting the sentiments expressed in it—but it appears to me, that Parr was offended without adequate reason, and mistaken in the fact which he asserts. This passage seems to contain a high strain of eulogy—as high as any mortal can well merit; and the frailty is so blended with the amiable, that there is scarce left as much of human error as is requisite to give the draught of the admirable prelate's character the colouring of truth. With respect to Burnet's change of sentiment upon the subject, it rests upon the assertion of a partial admirer; neither was it likely to have taken place in the mind of a judicious writer, who expresses his opinion so deliberately as Dr. Burnet does in the following words—"This was necessary to be told, since History is to be writ impartially: and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his memory a little; for I never was so tempted in any thing I ever writ, to disguise the truth, as upon this occasion."

in his own court himself, in the place of his chancellor.

He went there attended by a certain number of his clergy, "covered, on each side of him," and advised with them before he pronounced his judgments. "For my part," he writes, "I cannot bethink me of any course fitter for the present, than to keep the courts myself, and set some good order in them. And to this purpose I have been at Cavan, Belturbet, and Longford; and do intend to go to the rest; leaving with some of the ministry there, a few rules touching those things that are to be redressed, that, if my health do not permit to be always present, they may know how to proceed in my absence." The immediate consequence of this proceeding doubtless was, the ridding of the country of an intolerable grievance; but the chancellor and the other officers, already discontented with a loss of their fees, that followed from the bishop himself writing the titles to benefices, by no means acquiesced in the reformation.

Mr. Cooke instituted a suit against him, in the high court of chancery, for the invasion of his office; the matter became important, and was made a common cause throughout the kingdom. On the one hand the bishops encouraged Bedell to go resolutely on, and assured him that they would stand by him, confessing that they were but half-bishops, until their authority was recovered from their respective chancellors; on the other, all their officers, and their registers in Ireland, combined to resist

the innovation. The bishop desired to be permitted to plead his own cause in the court of chancery, and was greatly disappointed when this was denied him: he, however, drew up the following argument for his counsel; "for," justly observes the bishop of Sarum, "it being the first suit that ever was of that sort, he was more capable of composing his defence." He contended, "that one of the most essential parts of a bishop's duty was to govern his flock, and to inflict the spiritual censures on obstinate offenders: that a bishop could no more delegate this power to a layman, than he could delegate a power to baptize or ordain, since excommunication and other censures were a suspending the rights of baptism, and orders; and therefore the judging of these things could only belong to him that had the power to give them, and that the delegating that power was a thing null of itself." He shewed, "that feeding the flock was inherent and inseparable from a bishop, and that no delegation he could make could take that power from himself; since all the effect it could have was to make another his officer and his deputy in his absence. It had been ever looked on as a necessary part of a bishop's duty, to examine and censure the scandals of his clergy and laity, in ancient and modern times. That the Roman Emperors had by many laws supported the credit and authority of these courts; that, since the practices of the court of Rome had brought in such a variety of rules, for covering the corruptions which they intended

to support, then that which is in itself a plain and simple thing was made very intricate; so that the Canon Law was become a great study, and upon this account bishops had taken civilians and canonists to be their assistants in those courts; but this could be for no other end, but only to inform them in points of law, or to hear and prepare matters for them: for the giving sentence, as it is done in the bishop's name, so it is really his office; and is that for which he is accountable both to God and man. And, since the law made those to be bishop's courts; and, since the King had by patent confirmed that authority, which was lodged in him by his office, of governing those courts; he thought all delegations that were absolute and exclusive of the bishops, ought to be declared void."

The Bishop also expressed his surprise, "that he was not allowed to discharge the trust that was reposed in him, being bound by his consecration oath to rule as well as to feed his flock; and that one half of the Episcopal office should be alienated and usurped—that this his practice should seem new and strange, which is the practice of all the reformed churches, that have Bishops without lay chancellors. Bishop Jewel sate often with his chancellor, and was president in his own consistory. The titular Bishops, that are set over the popish party in Ireland by the Pope, by indulgence and permission exercise jurisdiction in private over the Irish; and that a Protestant Bishop should be

denied the same power in public, that holds it by patent from the King.'

The Lord High Chancellor dissented from these reasons, and confirmed Mr. Cooke's right, with £100 costs. Bishop Burnet concludes this account with a most extraordinary fact relating to this judgment, which Mr. Clogy repeats, as he heard it from our Bishop himself,—that, when Bedell afterwards asked the Chancellor Bolton, "How he came to make so unjust a decree?" he answered, "that all his father had left him was a register's place; so he thought he was bound to support those courts, which he saw would be ruined, if the way he took had not been checked." Whether the decree of the Lord Chancellor were according to the justice of the case or not, we must entirely condemn these motives. What a remarkable proof of the great want of principle in the age! that the chief magistrate should not only be tempted to act thus, against the obligations of his oath of office; but that he should, shamelessly and gratuitously, confess his unworthy inducements to the very person whom, by his own confession, he had wronged; and that person one that was eminently noted for righteous dealing.

The Bishop, however, ultimately succeeded in accomplishing all his wishes; and first, he impugned the authority of his Chancellor in another

* Mr. Clogy's Narrative—"Many copies," he adds, "of his pleadings, (it being a rare and singular thing never disputed there before), were taken and sent into England, as well as through all Ireland."

way. He had examined his patent, and found it to be unjust and void; he exhibited it to the chapter, and demanded of them,—Was it their seal, and those the several signatures of their hands? they acknowledged that they were;—and said, that "they were less careful in passing it, because they accounted it did rather concern his predecessor than them." "I shewed," says Bedell, "the false Latin, nonsense, injustice of it, prejudice to them, contrariety to itself, and the King's grant to me. I shewed there were in one period above 500 words, and, which passed the rest, hanging in the air without any principal verb. I desired them to consider, if the seal hanging to it were the bishop's seal; they acknowledged it was not. Therefore, with protestation that I meant no way to call in question the sufficiency of Mr. Cooke, or his former acts, I did judge the patent to be void, and so declared it; inhibiting Mr. Cooke to do any thing by virtue thereof, and them to assist him therein. This is the true history of this business, however Mr. Cooke may disguise it. I suspend him, not absent and indictâ causâ; it was his commission, which was present, that I viewed; which, with the chapter, I censured; which, if he can make good, he shall have leave, and time, and place enough." The question was accordingly brought before the Primate's court by Mr. Cooke; and the Bishop submitted the case entirely to the Primate himself, or to the decision of a Synod of the province, which he considered to be the most proper mode of proceeding; but he

refused to be judged by his Grace's delegate. The issue of this contest was, notwithstanding the Lord Chancellor's decree, and other unpropitious appearances at the commencement of it, entirely favorable to the ultimate object of the Bishop—"I will go on in the strength of the Lord, and remember his righteousness, even his alone—as by that revered and good father, my Lord of Canterbury, when I first came over, I was exhorted, and have obtained help of God to do to this day,"—was his primary determination. In the progress of the business, "he thought," says Burnet, "that he was doing that which was incumbent on him; and he had a spirit so made, that he resolved to suffer martyrdom rather than fail in any thing that lay upon his conscience." He therefore did persevere, and succeeded. His conduct was approved by the better part of the nation, and particularly by the bishops; and indeed he was so strong in public opinion, even in the midst of interested clamor, that his adversary was either advised by the government to thwart him no more, or was overcome by the authority he possessed, and the reverence which he universally inspired. Accordingly Mr. Cooke never demanded his costs; and even appointed a surrogate—a Mr. Ash—and a register, whom he desired to be obedient to the Bishop in all things; and he afterwards spoke thus of him to Mr. Clogy in terms of the highest applause—"That he thought that there was not such a man on the face of the earth as Bishop Bedell was; that he was too hard

for all the civilians in Ireland; and that, if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the consistorial courts, and had recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the Chancellor's hands." "He seemed to me," says Mr. Clogy, "to have bemoaned his death, and to be courteous and respectful to me for his sake:"—this was in 1646.

Whatever may be the opinion in modern times respecting the attempts and reasonings of the Bishop—now that the corruptions which formerly scandalised the ecclesiastical courts have been removed, and the increased difficulties of business have called for the appointment of persons specially educated to conduct them—his conduct must be allowed to have been not only praiseworthy, but in a conscientious man unavoidable. He found the the people harassed, and religion scandalised, by a system of oppression and extortion. He found, not only that fees were taken in his name for every thing done in his court,*—fees that he could not

* The Bishop mentions these various fees in a letter to the Primate thus: "For exhibits at visitations, and his charges there, above the Bishop's procurations; for unions, sequestrations, relaxations, certificates, licenses, permutations of penance, sentences interlocutory in causes of correction;—such fees as I cannot in my conscience think to be just: and yet he doth it in my name, and tells me I cannot call him into question for it. Alas, my Lord, if this be the condition of a bishop, that he standeth for a cypher, and only to uphold the wrongs of other men, what do I in this place?" And, with respect to another class of fees, he writes thus: "Roman Catholics had delivered letters in open court, praying that they should not 'be troubled for christenings, marriages, or funerals, as they pay the minister his due;' to authorize these there was the Lord Chancellor's letter, and Bedell could only answer, "that none should be wronged;" and that he "would be strict in requiring them to bring their children to be baptised, and marriages to be solemnized likewise

in conscience think to be just, and which were frequently excessive,—but also that the officers of the court "made it their business to draw people into trouble by vexatious suits; and to hold them so long in it, that, for three-pence worth of the tythe of turf, they would be put to five pounds charge. And the solemnest and sacredest of all the church-censures, which was excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a spiritual censure, was lost; and the effects it had in law made it be cryed out on, as a most intolerable piece of tyranny." In opposing these exactions he had to encounter the bitterest malignity of enemies, or, what he felt more, the frigid co-operation of friends. It is lamentable to perceive the pains that were taken to blacken his character in public opinion, and, what grieved him most, to lower it in the mind of Ussher. In a letter to this prelate the Bishop quotes the French proverb,—"He that is disposed to kill his dog, tells men he is mad;" and writes feelingly thus,—"Sir Edward Bagshaw, Sir Francis Hamilton, Mr. William Fleming, and divers more, have been and yet are pulling from the rights

as with us, sith they acknowledged these to be lawful and true, so it was but wilfulness if any forbear.—Here," he says, "I desire your Grace to direct me,—for to give way that they should not be so much as called in question, seems to further the schism they labour to make: to lay a pecuniary mulct upon them, I know not by what law it may be done: to excommunicate them for not appearing or obeying, they being none of our body, and a multitude, it is to no profit; nay, rather makes the exacerbation worse." Thus did the unenlightened legislation and government of the age encumber the progress of any improvement.

of my church; but all these have been light in respect of the dealing of some others professing me kindness, by whom I have been blazed a Papist, an Arminian,* a Neuter, a Politician, an Equivocator, a niggardly housekeeper, an usurer: that I bow at the name of Jesus, pray to the East, would pull down the seat of my predecessor to set up an altar, denying burial in the chancel to one of his daughters; and, to make up all, that I compared your Grace's preaching to one Mr. Whiskins," &c. "These things," he continues, "have been reported in Dublin; and some of the best affected of my own diocese, (as hath been told me), induced hereby to bewail with tears the misery of the church; some of the clergy also, as it was said, looking about how they might remove themselves out of this country. Of all this I heard but little, till Mr. Price, coming from Dublin before Christmas to be ordered Deacon, having for his memory set down twelve articles among a number of points more, required satisfaction of me concerning them."

This Mr. Price was a remarkable person, and much connected with Dr. Bedell in the history of his life. He had been a Senior Fellow of the College, and, being ordained by the Bishop, became his Archdeacon. He seems to have been an excellent man, of candid and straight-forward charac-

* We see here that the epithet, by which it is sought to make Bedell odious, is that of Arminian; while one reason why he was so long unpromoted in England was, that he was styled a Calvinist. Thus are these opposite titles applied, at all times, to moderate persons of evangelical principles, by different individuals, according as it suits their system.

ter; and, upon this and other occasions, he kindly and successfully vindicated the Bishop's conduct, when unjustly impeached. He was afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, in which situation we shall hereafter find him warmly endeavouring to promote the spiritual instruction of the natives, by the methods which he had learned from his early patron. A remarkable circumstance is related of him by Mr. Clogy;—"He came over chaplain to the infantry that came out of Ireland, by order of the King, after the Marquis of Ormonde had made a cessation of arms with the rebels in 1643. At the siege of Nantwich he was shot, from Acton steeple near the town, in the right eye, and the bullet (which he shewed me) taken out under his left ear, and yet the body of his eye not destroyed, but darkened."

It was, however, easy for the Bishop to refute every one of the calumnies alluded to, and to satisfy the minds of just men. That of the critique on the Primate's sermon, the Bishop entirely removed; his denial of burial in the chancel was consistent with his constant objection to interment in churches, which he would not permit, even in the case of his wife; the other accusations were notoriously false or trivial:* yet so many and repeated attempts to prejudice the Primate against him, were not without some effect upon his Grace's

* We shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to notice the accusations of the Bishop's bowing to the name of Jesus, praying to the East, and being desirous to set up an altar.

mind. In one of his letters to that prelate, Bedell alludes with deep feelings to it thus:—"For loving and honoring you in truth, (for the truth's sake which is in us, and shall abide with us for ever) without any private interest; and receiving so unlooked-for a blow from your own hand, (which I expected should have tenderly applied some remedy to me, being smitten by others), I had not present the defenses of reason and grace." But all passed quickly over, as a slight storm clearing the air; and in the same letter he exclaims—"But blessed be God, who at my being with you refreshed my spirit, by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me; and all humble thanks to you, that gave me place to make my defence, and took upon you the cognizance of mine innocency."

The Primate had to endure that unavoidable attendant upon greatness, on which I have already commented, untrue or exaggerated report. We have seen that his chaplain was an enemy to Bedell, and a calumnious one; hence perhaps those unkind thoughts expressed in Ussher's letters, which an hour of Bedell's presence thoroughly dissipated. If the gentle disposition of Ussher prevented him from seconding with efficiency the firm boldness of Bedell, he well knew how to appreciate it; and, as Burnet testifies, he "had a singular esteem for that vigour of mind which our Bishop expressed in reforming these matters." The Primate, therefore, very promptly returned, with his natural benevolence, to manifest his affection and admiration for

him. He could not also avoid approving of the wisdom, and sympathizing with the tenderness and charity, exhibited by Bedell in his newly-assumed office, when inflicting the censures of the Church —"considering that all Church power was for edification and not for destruction, he dispensed the justice that belonged to his courts, equally and steadily; and cut off many fees which made them formerly odious." His discipline was that of a parent chastising and correcting his children; and the Irish Romanist priests, who were often brought before him upon complaints of incontinency, were treated with such mildness and just reasonings, respecting that law of their Church which denied them the privilege of marrying, that good effects were produced upon the minds of several among them; in fact some of them became converts and married. Thus Bedell was at length, and in every way, most amply rewarded by success.

His expectations were high, but were not disappointed. "I find it to be true," he says, "that Tully saith, 'Justitia mirifica quædam res multitudini;' and certainly to our proper work a great advantage it is, to obtain a good opinion of those we are to deal with. But, besides this, there fall out occasions to speak of God and his presence, of the religion of a witness, the danger of an oath, the purity of a marriage, the preciousness of a good name, repairing of churches, and the like,—penance itself may be enjoined, and penitents reconciled, with some profit to others besides themselves"—and

he foretels, that the work of his ministry and service to this nation shall receive furtherance thereby. This indeed was notoriously the result; and to such an extent that, as will hereafter appear, even in the worst times of savage excitement, among the Roman Catholics connected with the great rebellion, this good Prelate, although he was a most determined advocate against the errors of their religion, was most dear to all the native Irish people; while he was particularly successful in combating and removing their prejudices.

There was a fourth matter connected with the discipline of his diocese, which called for the Bishop's correction and care,—the visitations—of which there were three; the annual visitation of the Bishop, the triennial of the metropolitan, and the septennial of the King. These were all of them connected with much pomp, luxury and expense, and the business was confined to slight and chiefly formal inquiries. The two latter of these were especially scandalous; they were, as Mr. Clogy expresses himself, "like a heathenish jublilee." "For day and night they gave themselves over to such riots and excesses, as if they had come out of the bottomless pit, and were posting to that visitation; and the poor clergy must pay for all, under suspicion of heresy, or of excommunication, which they carried under their girdles—haud ignota loquor." "Nothing was so much minded as that which was the reproach of them, the fees, that were exacted to such an intolerable degree, that they were a

heavy grievance to the clergy, who were glad to purchase their peace by paying all that was imposed upon them." These fees we have before alluded to; and, being far above what was authorized by law, or ancient custom, they were not only exorbitant, but to a great degree arbitrary: the Bishop was therefore determined to limit them to their proper extent, to take none but what were established by law and custom, and to expend them in entertaining his clergy, giving the overplus to the prisons, or to the relief of the poor. To all this there was no objection; neither did any person find fault with that humility, which led him to disapprove of the state with which visitations were usually conducted, and to make his clergy sit and be covered when he was; agreeably with the words of an old canon—"sedente episcopo, ne stet presbyter." The Dean alone entered a frivolous and vexatious protestation, to which the Bishop alludes in a letter to the Primate thus;—"He pretends that I may not visit but at, or after, Michaelmas. I omit that he calls himself the head of the chapter, —the canon law calls the Bishop so. He will have the Bishop visit the whole diocese together; directly contrary to that form which the canons prescribe. But this protestation, having neither Latin, nor law, nor common sense, doth declare the skill of him that drew it, and the wit of him that uses it; which, if your Grace injoyn him not to revoke it, I shall be enforced to put remedy unto

otherwise, in respect of the evil example and prejudice it might bring to posterity."

It is a remarkable fact in the history of this prelate, and one to which we must frequently recur, that no Bishop, (however he might have been opposed by others,) was ever more uniformly and unanimously approved and supported by his clergy and his flock, than Bishop Bedell,—considering the times, and the very decided and novel measures adopted by him. The fact indeed evidences great intelligence, prudence, meekness, and something of superior and hallowed authority, in him who thus induced such complete and disinterested obedience. That in such a reformation as that of pluralities, for instance, he should be followed by all his clergy, one only excepted, demonstrates his astonishing influence; to this his manner of address, both personal and by letter, greatly contributed: he always "wrote to aged ministers, thus, in the primitive style—fratri et synpresbytero—with their academical degrees; yet, in all orders of deacon and presbyter, and institutions to young men, he wrote still—dilecto nobis in Christo filio; and to his own son William—in carne et in Christo filio." *

An anecdote is related of him, which, while it evidences his humility as a bishop, exhibits his meekness and forbearance. It has been already mentioned that he lived always with his clergy as with brethren; and, when he went his visitations,

* Mr. Clogy's Narrative.

he would not accept of the invitations of the great men of the country, but dined with his clergy, in such poor inns, and of such coarse fare, as the place afforded. "A person of quality, Sir F. Hamilton, that had prepared an invitation for him during his visitation, took his refusing it so ill, that, whereas the Bishop promised to come and see him after dinner, as soon as he came near his gate which was standing open, it was presently shut, on design to affront him; he was kept half an hour knocking at it. The affront was visible; and, when some would have him go away, he would not do it, but said, they will hear ere long. At last the master came out, and received him with many shews of civility; but he made a very short visit; and, though the rudeness he met with prevailed not on him either to resent it, or to go away upon it, yet it appeared that he understood it well enough."

The visitations of the Bishop were always holden with a special reference to "the Apostle's rule—'Let all things be done to edification;' for he always preached and administered the sacrament to all his clergy, and to all that were present; and gave heavenly instruction to his clergy and people."

Bishop Bedell however failed in making any change in the triennial visitations, against the assumed principles of which he was violently opposed. When the Archbishop's mandate was first brought to him, he received it with great indignation, which was increased by two clauses in the bull, or writ. By the one it was asserted, 'That in the year of

the metropolitan's visitation, the whole and entire jurisdiction of the diocese belonged to him;' the other was the reason given for it, 'Because of the great danger of the souls of the people'—whereas, he said, the danger of souls rises from that suspension of the Bishop's pastoral power; since for that year he either could not do the duty of a bishop; or, if he would exercise it, he must be liable to a suit in the Prerogative Court, or "buy his privilege of these secular merchants at a dear rate, that knew nothing but their dishonest gain:" he therefore "threw the bull away out of his hand, as if he had said unto it, 'Get thee hence,' and stamped with his foot, &c."*—such was the sudden expression of his zeal.—"He knew," says Bishop Burnet, "that the Archbishop's power over bishops was not founded on divine or apostolical right, but on ecclesiastical canons and practice, and that it was only a matter of order; and that therefore the Archbishop had no authority to come and invade his pastoral office, and suspend him for a year. These were some of the worst of the abuses which the canonists had introduced in the later ages, by which they had broken the episcopal authority, and had made way for vesting the whole power of the Church in the Pope."

There was nothing in which Bishop Bedell was so scrupulous, as the admission of persons into holy orders. He examined with the strictest attention

* Mr. Clogy's Narrative.

such as sought for ordination, or came to exercise their ministry in his diocese. In this examination he went over all the Articles of the Church with such exact minuteness, that, even in the case of Mr. Price, who had been intimately known to him as a Senior Fellow, when he was Provost of the College, it lasted two full hours. The examination was always holden in the presence of his clergy, who were at its close invited to ask any question that might occur to them, if they thought that he omitted any thing that was material, towards discovering the character or sufficiency of the candidate; they were even, as Mr. Clogy testifies, required to give their votes for his approbation, and to give imposition of hands with the Bishop. He also took care to be well informed of the capacity and knowledge, as well as of the moral and religious character of the candidate; and required him to remain one year a deacon, before he would ordain him a presbyter. Impressed by the apostolical injunction—"Lay hands suddenly on no man, and be not a partaker of other men's sins,"—he considered ordination to be the most sacred part of a bishop's trust; for which he was the more responsible, as the laws of the land did not at all interfere, but left it entirely in the ordinary's hands. He always preached and administered the sacrament at the ceremony himself. So far from ordaining individuals on the mere recommendation of others, he would not do so without a title to a particular flock; following in this a rule laid down by the fourth

General Council, which made void all orders conferred without a designation to a particular place. It appears that at this time much scandal was incurred to the Church, by the abuse of "emendicated titles; and of the vagrant priests, that went about as journeymen plying for work, to the great reproach of that sacred employment." The Bishop took care also that his clergy, when ordained, should be put to as little charge as possible, remembering his own case with the Bishop of Norwich; he therefore wrote the instruments himself, and put them all into one, though formerly they had been directed into several, for the increasing of the fees: and he sometimes even gave his clergy induction, thinking that none of these offices were beneath a bishop, and that it was his duty to save them any unnecessary expense. He went so far in this indeed as to adjure them, solemnly, not to give any thing to his servants, waiting upon them always to his gate, that he might prevent the temptation. At that time this evil had grown to such a pitch, that it had become quite necessary for him thus to interfere. "Before, in that place," says Mr. Clogy, "there was so much for the bishop, so much for his wife, so much for the chaplain, so much for the scribe or secretary, and so from the cook and butler to the groom of the stable, and all the rest; so that the minister did not know how to come so well provided as to satisfy so many cravers"—all this the Bishop considered to savor of simony, and therefore even anathematized the practice; taking

at the same time another proper remedy against it, which was to pay his servants good wages, in order that they might have no excuse for expecting such fees. Finally, his great care in the right performance of these important duties appears from the form of his collations, upon instituting any person, which concluded in words of which the following is a translation :—" Obtesting you in the Lord, and enjoining you, by virtue of that obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, that you will diligently feed his flock committed to your cares, which he purchased with his own blood; that you instruct them in the catholic faith, and perform divine offices in a tongue understood by the people; and, above all things, that you shew yourself a pattern to believers in good works, so that the adversaries may be put to shame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you."

When Dr. Bedell had been nine years a bishop, and about the autumn of 1638, he held a Synod of all the clergy of his diocese, and passed there several canons for the better government of the Church within it. Some of these are deserving of particular notice, as they not only exhibit the great care of the Bishop to prevent abuses, but present a view of the peculiar manners of the age. By the three first it is appointed, that a Synod shall be annually holden in the second week of September; and that, in absence of the Bishop, his vicar-general, if a presbyter, or his archdeacon, shall preside. It is also

provided, that every future vicar-general must be a person in holy orders, and shall hold his office only during the Bishop's pleasure.

By the fourth and fifth, the ancient custom of rural deans is revived; and they decree, that three shall be appointed for the diocese, to be chosen by the clergy of each division respectively; and that they shall inspect and report to the Bishops, and transmit to them any of his orders: and they also appoint that, in the principal town of every rural deanery, there shall be holden a meeting or chapter of the clergy of that division, at the least monthly; where, having read the public prayers, they shall preach by turns, without long prayers and preambles,—"ubi, lectis plené publicis precibus, concionentur per vices, sine longis precibus et proemiis." If this intelligent prelate intended, by this arrangement, the establishing of periodical clerical meetings, somewhat similar to those which, in some of the dioceses of Ireland, have of late years conduced so much to the mutual edification of the clergy, and the strengthening of their hands towards the arduous work of their ministry, it affords an additional proof of his zeal and wisdom. And this is not the only instance in which he outran the slow movements that were making, in his time, towards the establishing of true religion in Ireland; and wafted over two centuries in his experiments. There cannot be well imagined a more useful measure for a Bishop to adopt, than that of encouraging regular meetings of his clergy; where they may

mutually animate each other, and communicate spiritual feeling and zeal; and fully and freely discuss, in a prayerful spirit, and with their Bibles open before them, those scriptural points that most require their serious and combined consideration: occasionally also conversing on such other subjects, as their experience of difficulties may suggest, or their desire to promote improvement originate. Such must have surely been the object of Bedell, it is manifestly implied in the canon.

The ninth and twelfth canons ordain, that bodies shall not be buried in churches; and provide for the decent interment of the bones of the dead; the twelfth forbids the noisy grief of women at funerals. The seventeenth enforces the reasonable directions of the rubric, by declaring, that the minister may send away those who come to the holy communion of the Lord's supper, without having signified their names to him on the day before. The nineteenth has in it something that is peculiar; it declares that, if any minister bring an accusation any where against any of his brethren, before he shall have denounced him to the Bishop, all the rest of the clergy shall abstain from his Society—"ab ejus consortio cæteri omnes abstinebunt." The twentieth shows the manners of the age—"Clerici comam ne nutriant; et habitu clericali, prout Synodo Dublineinsi institutum est, incedant." This custom of wearing every where a clerical dress, which is so general in Roman Catholic countries, was partly that of Ireland, even among

Protestants, until very lately. The twenty-second regulated the manner of excommunication—that the sentence should be made by the Bishop alone, with the assistance of those who were then present of his clergy.

"All the ministers," says Mr. Clogy, "subscribed to all, except Doctor Faythfull Teate, who wrote thus,—'omnibus subscribo præterquam decimo decreto'—which was, that women should sit without the chancel, and apart from the men—he adds; "and the reason was this, because he had ordered a new seat for his wife in the chancel but a little before, and was loath to remove it."

It is difficult to imagine how any offence could be given by these canons: the rules thus laid down are chiefly those of order; and, so far from any principle of discipline having been infringed by the holding of such a synod, it seems obviously useful, towards the maintaining of it, that such measures should be more frequently resorted to than they now are. The constitution both in church and state has received radical injury by the total discontinuation of convocations; and other such assemblies of the clergy; the meetings of which were formerly considered to be as essential towards the preservation and enjoyment of our spiritual liberties, as the regular assembling of parliaments towards that of our temporal freedom; and the discipline, as well as liberty of our ministers, and their flocks, would certainly be continued and improved by more frequent meetings among themselves, and with their

bishops, for the purpose of attending to the concerns of their very important vocations. The news however of this synod created much conversation in Dublin; some considered that, in presuming to make canons, the Bishop had infringed the law, and incurred the penalties of a premunire. Every effort was made to stir up the Earl of Strafford against him; and it was even expected that he would be brought up, and censured in the Star-chamber, or High-commission court: but others looked upon what he had done as the necessary discharge of his episcopal function, and this better opinion prevailed. The Bishop was indeed prepared to justify his conduct in the most satisfactory manner, but he was not put to that trouble; for his friend Archdeacon Price gave such an account of the transaction to the government, that nothing was done in the matter; and the Primate, who well knew that the Bishop could defend himself upon good grounds, advised those who had actually moved that he should be brought up upon it, to let him alone, lest he should be provoked to say more for himself, than any of his accusers could say against him. In the end it was said of him—alluding to this transaction, and his conduct respecting his courts—"Solus Kilmorensis novit se gerere ut Episcopum."

We are not to be surprised at the many instances of unreasonable calumny, by which this excellent, conscientious, and public-spirited prelate, although he was so much revered by those who lived within

his peculiar sphere of influence, was persecuted, during the course of his useful life in Ireland. We can have acquired but little knowledge from History, or experience in the world, if we marvel at this; we should rather perceive in it a proof, that Bedell was a person far more advanced in intelligence than his age; and, if there were any demonstration requisite to establish this, it is the fact that, in almost every effort that he made, he was angrily opposed, and in almost all of them was afterwards crowned with very distinguished success. From the commencement of time, it has been, and ever will be the case, that every thing calculated to produce good, will be opposed by the evil principle ruling in the world; although it is also happily true, that the former will in most cases ultimately succeed; and truth at length be found to prevail. We have seen how bitter was the rancour of Bedell's enemies, and how they endeavoured to traduce him in the mind of Ussher, and how they sought to persecute him in the present instance; we have seen them active upon many minor occasions; and we shall find them again raising their loudest outcry against the greatest of his works, the Irish Bible: but in all these they miserably failed; and even frequently contributed to produce more good, by giving rise to a powerful reaction, than might have resulted from efforts less opposed.

At this part of the history, after having related such transactions of Bishop Bedell's public Episcopal life as have been recorded of him, it will be

most appropriate to present the testimony which has been given by Doctor Mant, the present Bishop of Down and Connor, to his character as a Bishop in his History of the Irish Church;* especially as the eulogium is confined, in its scope, to the points which have formed the subject of this chapter. His Lordship's words are as follows—"The history of the whole Church of Christ does not, in all probability, contain a more perfect pattern of a Christian Bishop, than may be contemplated in the life of Bishop Bedell; as to the care with which he supplied all vacancies within his Diocese; the strictness with which he concluded his examinations for holy orders; his constant refusal to ordain any without a title to a particular flock; his studious observation of the behaviour of his clergy, mixed with paternal tenderness and compassion for their weaknesses; his earnest endeavours in counteracting pluralities, and in prevailing upon all to observe parochial residence; and his constant business at his visitations, in investigating the state of his diocese, and in giving good instructions and advice both to the clergy and the laity." To this we must add, what a further view of his life will exhibit and prove,—his hospitality, his perfect freedom from nepotism; and, above all, his highly spiritual conduct and conversation, his watching in all things,—his enduring afflictions, his doing the work of an evangelist, his making full proof of his ministry. 2 Tim. iii. 5. These

* V. i. p. 441.

he did, yet left not the others undone; but it is with these especially that he fought the good fight, and kept the faith; and, we may humbly trust, will obtain 'the crown of righteousness, from the Lord, the righteous judge.'

The Bishop of Down concludes his notice of Doctor Bedell's history with the following very just observation. "There were however two or three alterations of a questionable nature, which Bishop Bedell was anxious to introduce into his diocese. I allude to his diocesan synods of his clergy, and his synodical canons; his indignation at the undue extent to which, in his opinion, the Archbishop carried the exercise of the metropolitical power over his suffragans; and his attempt to introduce a correction of abuses in the ecclesiastical courts, by going, and sitting, and judging in his own courts himself."

I do not oppose these doubts, as if I differed from his Lordship on topics with which he must be much better acquainted than myself; and in many of which the modern practice, established doubtless on good grounds of experience, and perhaps of principle, is in opposition to that which Bedell desired to introduce; much less am I disposed to be jealous of any accusation of error in the exalted subject of my memoir; for, in truth, tradition has been so favourable to him, that we have too unmixed a share of good to relate of him, who yet must have had his frailties and his faults. But truth requires me to remind his Lordship, with

respect to the first of these, while Burnet declares—that "it seemed strange if some rules, laid down by common consent for the better government of the diocese, should have furnished matter for censures;" and also, "that he had prepared such a justification of himself, as would have vindicated him fully before equitable judges;" that Archbishop Ussher advised those who moved to proceed against him—"to let him alone, lest he should be provoked to say more for himself, than any of his accusers could say against him." Bedell, therefore, if not entirely in the right on this head, was not much in the wrong. The great alteration in the duration of the Archbishop's suspending power, from a year to a very few weeks, makes an alteration also in the next case; and reduces it to a different one indeed, from that which so very much roused the indignation of Bedell: yet I am willing to admit that his warmth was beyond all just warrant; and that the manner in which he received and treated the mandate, reminds us, that he was a real man, and not the imaginary character of mere fiction. And lastly, the conduct of his chancellor, and the corruptions of his courts, contrasted with the integrity and the purity of such officers in modern days, prevent any just ground of comparison between the circumstances as they existed in his time, and as they now are. Let his reasoning on the abstract question speak for itself.

In fine, to pass from the Bishop to the diocese; it was converted, by his efforts, into a very different

state from that in which he found it—much evil was removed, much good introduced; the churches were repaired, the congregations increased; the clergy had become resident, and were better instructed to preach the truths of God's word, and in an intelligible tongue; the protestant population was edified, the popish reconciled; and even, what we no where see in these our more favoured days, many of their former perverters were to be met with, leading them in the ancient way of truth, according to the Protestant doctrines.

CHAPTER V.

OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES RESPECTING BISHOP BEDELL, DURING THE SAME PERIOD; FROM A.D. 1630—A.D. 1641.

ABOUT two years after that Doctor Bedell was appointed Bishop, he was brought into dangerous collision with a very remarkable person, by the malignity of his enemies; this was the celebrated Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford. The Bishop's intentions and conduct in the following transaction were so misrepresented to the government, as greatly to prejudice against him the mind of this energetic Deputy, as well as to affect even that of the King. He was reported to have signed a petition from the County of Cavan, in which some complaints were made of the army, and some regulations proposed to control them. Wentworth, who considered this to be an insolent interference with prerogative, of which he was excessively jealous, and a bad example, was so highly displeased with Bedell on account of it, although whatever was done occurred before he came into office, that, whenever any order or commission was brought to him containing the Bishop's name, he dashed his pen through it with great indignation. When Bedell heard of this, he proceeded to

justify himself with much moderation and caution. He did not go up to Dublin to congratulate Wentworth on his arrival, but he wrote the following letter * to the Lord Deputy, and sent a copy of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury; he also sent an account of the entire affair, to his constant and ancient friend Sir T. Jermyn; in consequence of which, letters were transmitted to the Lord Deputy, which not only fully exculpated the Bishop, but converted his Excellency into a warm and steady friend.

" Right Hon. my good Lord,

" That, according to my duty, I have not repaired to your presence since your coming into this kingdom, you may be pleased to understand the reason, viz. that I have been informed many ways, that your Lordship has so openly, and as might seem purposely, signified your displeasure to me, yet never calling me to answer, as if you advise me to keep out of your sight. No servant, how faultless soever, hastes to receive a chiding, especially in that place where he hath been lately sore beaten. To make excuse before a man be blamed lacks little of accusing himself. And, although the integrity of my conscience made me confident this would soon be appeased, if I might come to make my defence; yet I considered, that possibly your Lordship conceived the exigency of his Majesty's affairs did re-

* Strafford's Letters, V. i. p. 146.

quire so ; or the first impression you desired to make of the future form of your government ; and then time itself, which is wont to mitigate even deserved anger, would after a time restore you to your natural goodness, and me to your good opinion. In the midst of these thoughts I have been lately advertised, from an honorable friend in England, that I am accused to his Majesty, to have opposed his service ; and that my hand, with two other Bishops only, was to a writing touching the monies to be levied, on the papists here, for the maintainance of the men of war, &c."—After much of explanation touching the mistakes and misrepresentations which occurred in this affair, he thus proceeds—" You have the true narrative of the framing of the petition, now will you be pleased to examine wherein I oppose the service of his Majesty thereby—It may be said in the maintenance and upholding of the army.—Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his Majesty, but that of the highest Majesty ; and to expose, with the public peace, mine own neck to the skeans of the Romish cut-throats—I that knew that, in this kingdom of his Majesty's, the Pope hath another kingdom far greater in number ; and, as I have heretofore signified to the Lord Justices and council, (which is also since justified by themselves in print,) constantly guided and directed by the order of the new congregation de propaganda fide, lately erected at Rome, transmitted by means of the

Pope's nuncios residing at Brussels or Paris—that the Pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocese, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporal oath bound to him, to maintain him and his regalities contra omnem hominem, and to execute his mandates to the uttermost of their forces; which accordingly they do, stiling themselves in print, *Egó N. Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratiâ, Episcopus Fernien, et Ossorien.* I that knew there is in the kingdom, for the moulding of the people to the Pope's obedience, a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolency, as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in better ranks than priests, insomuch that the censure of the Sorbonne is fain to be implored to curb them; which yet is called in again, so tender is the Pope of his own creatures. I that knew that his Holiness hath erected a new university in Dublin, to confront his Majesty's college there, and to breed the youth of the kingdom to his devotion; of which university one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel that was put forth in print against my Lord Armach's Wansted sermon, stileth himself in print to be Dean. I that knew, and have given advertisement to the state, that these regulars dare erect new fryeries in the country, since the dissolving of these in the city; that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselessness, as they care not to learn the commandments as God himself spake, and writ them;

but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitions and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are ashamed of; and at all those they levy collections, three, four, five, or six pounds at a sermon. Shortly, I knew that those regulars and this clergy have, at a general meeting like to a synod, as themselves state it, decreed, that it is not lawful to take an oath of allegiance; and, if they be constant to their own doctrine, do account his Majesty in their hearts to be King, but at the Pope's discretion. In this state of this kingdom, to think the bridle of the army might be taken away, should be the thought, not of a brainsick, but a brainless man."—The Bishop here adds more matter of explanation, in terms of great confidence in his innocence; and thus boldly concludes, after stating that he had only joined in one petition, which was, that the Lords Justices and the council would forbear any further imposition, until they should represent it to his Majesty—" My Lord, as I have never esteemed it to become me, or any subject, to take upon me to be the auditor of public accounts; so I have thought the way ought not to be foreclosed to subjects, to have recourse, (in humble and dutiful sort,) to his Majesty's goodness, to declare their grievances; this serving to evaporate their discontents—(a good means to prevent them from festering inwardly, and so to help to cure them,) —how much less it is to be denied to the dutiful and obedient, who had not opposed the applotment made upon them, though levied disorderly. Gentle

and wise was that speech of one of the Kings of France, which, having imposed something on his subjects, when he was told the people talked of it, broadly answered—Let the good men have words for their money."—He proceeds then to shew that, if the council-board knew all his motives "for humouring the people upon this occasion, even thus far, I doubt not but they would have holden me worthy of thanks for the good service which herein I performed. I had that day to lay upon the county of Cavan above £1000 * for re-edifying of the churches—a charge, by my fellow Commissioners at our former meeting, holden impossible to be levied, in any short time; I saw well I was to have as much difficulty with them, as with the people, if I did not in some sort follow their humour. By this means I had them as pliable as I could wish. They yielded to the building of the churches by the 20th. of May, this next Spring, which I scarcely expected would have been done in three years.

Your Lordship's, in all duty,
W. KILMORE."

Kilmore, the day of our deliverance from the Popish powder plot. A. 1633.

This bold, yet prudent letter, was in many respects one which would not seem to be agreeable to the spirit of Strafford; but there was in it a frankness, a loyalty, and an intrepidity, which that ex-

* £1199.

traordinary man well knew how to value. The manner in which he received it does him much honor; it effected his entire reconciliation with Bedell, which the letters received from London matured into confidence and esteem; so that, upon the Bishop's visiting him in Dublin, "he rose from his nobles, and ran to embrace him with such reverent respects, that all persons did admire it; and invited him to dine with him that day, and many times after to his table; and gave him access and audience ever afterwards." *

In the year 1634 that convocation assembled, which adopted the articles of the Church of England to be those also of the Church of Ireland; in this vote Bishop Bedell concurred. It is to be lamented that there exists but a slender account of the transactions of that assembly, at least of other debates in which Bedell took the principal part;—these are thus noticed in a letter from Dr. Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, to Mr. Boyle †—"In the convocation held at Dublin 1634, there were no small debates about the version of the Bible, and the liturgy of the church, into the Irish tongue, for the benefit and instruction of the natives; Dr. Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, being for the affirmative; and Dr. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, opposing it. The reasons of the former were drawn from the principles of Theology, and the good of souls; of the latter, from an act of Parliament

* Mr. Clogy's Narrative. † His works. Vol. I. App. to his Life p. clxxxii.

passed in this kingdom in the reign of Henry VIII. for obliging the natives to learn the English tongue. However, the reasons of Bishop Bedell were thought so satisfactory, (especially being countenanced by the authority of Primate Ussher,) that the convocation thought fit to pass two canons concerning it." There were in fact three, and in the following words.—

Canon VIII. "And every beneficiary and curate shall endeavour, that the confession of sins, and absolution, and all the second service, (at or before the communion, to the homily, or Sermon,) when the people all or most are Irish, shall be used in English first, and after in Irish; if the ordinary of the place shall so think meet."

LXXXVI. Where the minister is an Englishman, and "many Irish in the parish, such a clerk may be chosen, as shall be able to read those parts of the service, which shall be appointed to be read in Irish, (if it may be)."

XCIV. "And, when all, or most of the people are Irish, they shall provide also the said books;" the Bible and two books of Common Prayer, "in the Irish tongue, as soon as they may be had;" the charge of these Irish books to be borne also wholly by the parish.

In this eighty-sixth canon the enactment is unavoidably an innovation, to some degree, upon the practice of the Church of England, by allowing a part of the service to be read by a person not

in orders; and, as it is quite at variance with a principle of Bishop Bedell, that the parish clerk should not be permitted to take any part in the performance of that service, it deserves to be noticed, as an evidence, in the first place, of the extreme necessity which he must have felt to exist, when he consented to, or perhaps proposed, such a deviation from that principle as it ordains; and secondly, of the Bishop's good sense, which induced him thus to forego his prepossession, in such a case, where discipline and not doctrine was concerned, where minor considerations were merged in greater obligations, and where just authority was constitutionally exercised, and not impugned or evaded.

It is much to be lamented, that scarce any circumstances connected with the private life of Bishop Bedell have been handed down to us by history or tradition; little is now known of him except what is general and vague. Had we his daily journal, which he regularly kept from his youth, and which was unfortunately lost with his other papers; or had we been favored with the events of but a few of his days, and been enabled to follow him, as we can Mr. Wilberforce and many others, through the domestic, social, and public operations combined of that period, we should most probably receive an impressive lesson of hallowed watchfulness, cheerful self-denial, prudent zeal, and all those other remarkable combinations of character, which caused Bedell to shine forth in those dark times, and in

that desert place, wherein his ministry was exercised. If his public labours were important, how edifying would be a sketch of that walk with God, which secured him authority so to influence the discordant mass of ignorance and wickedness, prejudice and superstition, over which it was his lot to preside. The following description of Bishop Bedell's appearance, partly as it occurs in Mr. Clogy's narrative, and partly as it was communicated by him to the Bishop of Sarum, is exceedingly graphic. "He was a tall and graceful person; there was something in his looks and carriage that discovered what was within, and created a veneration for him; he had an unaffected gravity in his deportment, and decent simplicity in his dress and apparel. He had a long and broad beard—I never knew," says Mr. Clogy, "any razor pass upon his face, which was beautified with more majesty and gravity than any person can express. His grey hairs, being found in the way of righteousness, were as a crown to him." His strength continued firm to the last—"I remember," he writes, "that, walking abroad with him and his sons the week before he sickened, on returning back he leaped so nimbly and vigorously over a broad ditch, that it amazed us all, and put us to a stand to follow him."

"He never used spectacles, nor lost a tooth, nor any decay of his hair, save in the color;" neither "did he suffer any decay in any of his natural powers, only, by a fall in his childhood, he had contracted a deafness in his left ear. He had great

strength and health of body; except that, a few years before his death, he had some severe fits of the stone, that his sedentary course of life seemed to have brought on him, which he bore with wonderful patience; the best remedy that he found for it was, to dig in his garden till he had very much heated himself, by which he found a mitigation of his pain. He took much pleasure in a garden; and, having brought some curious instruments out of Italy for racemation, engrafting and inoculating, he was a great master in the use of them."

We have here a pleasing opportunity of approaching this primitive character in his retirement, and passing a short time with him in his hours of relaxation; and how simple and well chosen was the mode! It may be truly said, that there is no species of recreation at once so refreshing to the mind, and invigorating to the body, as gardening; the latter point is quite obvious, and the former indeed almost equally manifest. In this occupation the thoughts are not dissipated, they are merely set free, to exercise with the spirits in the most wholesome meditation. But especially they are not tempted to wander away from God; on the contrary, they are naturally brought to hear "the word of the Lord God, walking in the garden in the cool of the day"—and led into closer communion with him—when they are drawn by every thing around, to admire and to adore him, not only in the wonders of his works, but in his abundant and gracious provision for the happiness of his creatures. There

is something also, in the very nature of the subject, which prevents even the most carnal part of these enjoyments from being so injurious as some others, and writes upon them a lesson of faith and hope, of watchfulness and dependence. The fading flower and the falling fruit declare, eloquently, the evanescent character of earthly things; and therefore it is, that expectation does not rest upon their enjoyment in an unsuitable and unwarranted manner; while their production and cultivation are calculated to keep in useful exercise the most valuable qualities of the mind, and to compel it to rest on the bounty of Providence, blessing the prudent use of means. This mode of life contributed greatly not only to the Bishop's health, but to preserve the vigour of his mind and memory.

Some few more characteristic traits are recorded of him, which mark him to have been a person of signal piety. "He prayed every day thrice in his family; in the morning as soon as he was dressed,—and commonly he was first up, and rang a little bell that lay in a window, in readiness to call his people together; when the cloth was laid for dinner, kneeling down at the head of the table; and so likewise after supper." He always prayed extempore, and concluded with the Lord's prayer. After breakfast he "read the Psalms of the day in his Hebrew Psalter, (which he always carried about him from a child). He was very free in his conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters. Every day after dinner there was a chapter of

the Bible read at his table, whosoever were present, Protestant or Romanist; and Bibles were laid down before every one of the company, and before himself either the Hebrew or Greek, and in his last years, the Irish translation was laid; and he usually explained the difficulties that occurred. He took care that the conversation should be always turned to subjects useful and instructive; and his manner of conducting it was with his usual humility of spirit, moderation of temper, and sincerity of purpose; and, as he bore well with the freedom of others, so he took all the discreet liberty that became a man of his age and station." In this respect he seems to have always, and especially, acted the part of a faithful Christian friend; and we are told, that he did "not stick to tell even the learned and worthy Primate Ussher such things as he thought were blameworthy in him; and, with the same sincerity, he shewed him some critical mistakes, that he met with in some of his works. They were very few, and not of any great importance; but, as they did not agree with the Primate's exactness in other things, he laid them before him; which the other took from him with that kindness that was natural to him."

This very useful point of character that was so remarkable in Bishop Bedell, of meekly reproving a Christian brother, is one in which the Church appears in this our day to be very deficient. Nothing is more uncommon than that honest faithfulness, which should impel us, not only to confess

our faults one to another, but to tell each other in secret of those things which do or may give scandal to the world. Yet, were this scriptural duty more attended to, no doubt many a first step into the slippery downward path of error would be thus prevented; many a slight occasion of offence in fit time removed; and the candid mind often awakened from some delusion, or warned of some unhallowed impulse, by which the enemy has insinuated the first beginnings of a train of evil—the commencement of consequences which might, in their progress, possess a magnitude that would make them to be equally destructive and irresistible.

At public tables the Bishop usually sat silent. On one occasion, at the Earl of Strafford's, some person observed of him, that, while all the company were conversing, "he said nothing; so the Primate answered, 'Broach him, and you will find good liquor in him.' Upon which that person proposed a question in divinity to him; and, in answering it, the Bishop shewed both his own sufficiency so well, and puzzled the other so much, that all at table, except the Bishop himself, fell a laughing at the other."

The usual dress of Bishop Bedell was suitable to his character and demeanour—"His habit was grave, in a long stuff gown, not costly but comely; his stockings woollen, his shoes not much higher behind." The furniture of his house was also appropiate, "not pompous, nor superfluous." With equal consistency he avoided all affectations

of state or greatness; and "went about always on foot when he was at Dublin, one servant only attending on him; except on public occasions that obliged him to ride in procession among his brethren. He never kept a coach, for his strength continued so entire, that he was always able to ride on horseback." To some this may appear to have been an affectation on the contrary side, and to have partaken somewhat of "the pride that apes humility;" while others may be tempted to accuse him of penury: to the first suggestion we must oppose the direct assertions of those who knew him, and who record, as already alluded to, that "he avoided the affectations of humility as well as pride, the former flowing often from the greater pride of the two;" the harmony of such conduct with the rest of his independent and spiritual character; and the manners of the times, in which it would not have been a strange, while it would surely be an interesting sight, to behold a venerable prelate, adorned by his grey and flowing beard, and dressed in his clerical habit, riding in the public streets.

The idea of a penurious motive for the Bishop's humble expenditure in these matters only leads us to detail the following recorded facts. "His table was well covered, according to the plenty that was in the country; but there was no luxury in it. Great resort was made to him, and he observed a true hospitality in housekeeping." Mr. Clogy informs us, that his consumption was "half an Irish beef a week, besides other provision, a great part

whereof was given to poor Irish families. At Christmas he had the poor Irish, as well as the rich British, to sit and feast about him, both men and women that scarce had any whole clothes on their backs, nor could understand a word of English, and were strangers to such civil and plentiful entertainment; and often the blessing of those that were ready to perish came upon him, and he made the widow's heart to sing for joy, like another Job."

With respect to disinterestedness, he gave evidence of it in a very peculiar manner. "He never thought of changing his see, or of rising up to a more advantageous bishopric; but considered himself as under a tie to his first appointment, that could not be easily dissolved. So that, when the translating to a bishopric in England was proposed to him, he refused it, and said, he should be as troublesome a Bishop in England as he had been in Ireland." This, when we reflect on the then miserable state of Ireland, on the opportunity which he had of comparing it with other more favored places, and his natural partiality for the land of his birth—when also we recollect his full consciousness of all these circumstances, exhibited by him on his first coming to reside in Ireland—not only evidences disinterestedness, but demonstrates that his motive for undertaking the episcopal office was solely to do his master's service. Again, in his management of the patronage of that office he manifested the same motive, and a similar spirit. He had two sons, and he was satisfied to provide for them in a

manner so moderate, that the church should not be scandalized by his arrangements on their behalf; he did not "consider the revenue of the church as a property of his own, out of which he must raise a great estate for them." To the eldest, therefore, he gave nothing but a benefice of eighty pounds a year, in which we are told that "he labored with that fidelity that became the son of such a father;—this son afterwards inherited the family estate in Essex." To the second, who was not a man of letters, he gave an estate of £60 annually; the only purchase, it is supposed, that the Bishop had ever made.

The Bishop must have been peculiarly happy in his family; his wife was a lady of the ancient family of L'Estrange, in the County of Suffolk. "She proved to be," as we are told upon the testimony of her son-in-law, "in all respects a fit wife for him; she was exemplary in her life, humble and modest in her habit and behaviour; and was singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she paid him." She was mother to Mrs. Clogy by her first husband; and her son-in-law appears to have been in every point of view a suitable companion for the Bishop. She had, as has been already mentioned, two sons by her second husband that survived him—William, a clergyman, successor to his piety and virtue, and Ambrose.

It was some time in the year 1638, that the Bishop had the misfortune to be bereaved of this ex-

cellent woman ; she died of a lethargy, three years before the great rebellion. His conduct upon this occasion was entirely consistent with his character. The just reputation that she had for piety and virtue made him to chuse the following text for her funeral sermon.—"A good name is better than ointment." This sermon he preached himself; and, as we are told, "with such a mixture of tenderness and moderation, that it touched the whole congregation so much, that there were very few dry eyes in the church all the while." "Happy," says Mr. Clogy in his narrative, "were all Adam's posterity, if they were as equally yoked; I never saw the least jarr or distaste between them, in word or deed, in all the space of three years that I lived with them."*

As he had a great objection to burying in churches, or near to their walls—not only because it was a frequent annoyance of the living, but because he objected to the "disquieting of the dead till they hear the voice of Christ to awaken them—" he chose the most remote and least frequented spot in the church-yard for her grave; in which his son John and he himself afterwards were interred. This he did, that "she might rest undisturbed in her grave till the resurrection."

The morals of his own clergy are represented as being, at the time of his coming among them, openly scandalous for drunkenness and all profligacy ; their

* These words are quite sufficient to prove, that the MS. narrative in the British museum, from whence they are transcribed, was written by Mr. Clogy, the husband of Mrs. Bedell's daughter.

ignorance also was gross: the Bishop, aware that people look more to the lives than to the doctrines of their teachers, was determined to make every possible attempt towards the reformation of this loose behaviour. He was sensibly touched by that observation of an Irishman, made to him in open court, "that the King's priests were as bad as the Pope's priests;"—but he proceeded with a wise and benevolent regard to the circumstances and character of the times. The following fact related of him demonstrates his watchfulness and determination. "He had great tenderness for the weakness of his clergy, when he saw reason to think otherwise well of them; and he helped them out of their troubles, with the care and compassion of a father. One of his clergy," (Mr. Moore of Manor Hamilton), "held two livings: but had been cozened, by a gentleman of quality, to farm them to him for less than either of them was worth, and he acquainted the bishop with this, who upon that, writ very civilly, and yet as became a bishop, to the gentleman, persuading him to give up the bargain: but, having received a sullen and haughty answer from him, he made the minister resign up both to him: for they belonged to his gift; and he provided him with another benefice, and put two other worthy men in these two churches; and so he put an end both to the gentleman's fraudulent bargain, and to the churchman's plurality—Thus," says Mr. Clogy, "he released the poor man from that surprisal, and got many a blessing from all that heard of it."

Bedell was a man of much reading; but his chief occupation was the study of the Holy Scriptures, with the text of which, in several languages, he was particularly well acquainted. He was as familiar with the Hebrew and the Septuagint, as with the English translation. He read every morning the Psalms appointed by the Common Prayer for the day, in Hebrew; or, if any person skilled in that language was present, he read himself one verse of the Hebrew, turning it into Latin, and the other individual the next, in a similar manner; and so on alternately.

His memory was extraordinary. He always preached without notes, and frequently wrote down his discourses after he had delivered them. His style was clear and full, but plain; for he abhorred all affectation of pompous rhetoric in them, as contrary to the simplicity of Christ. In the matter of them he avoided all learning, but that which was proper for his text, and necessary for clearing its difficulties. "He did always shew the connection, and open the sense and meaning of the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the original; and then raise diverse observations from them, and make a lively and powerful application of them to the auditors, concluding still with prayer."

"I have heard him," says his biographer, "say these words in the pulpit, after his entering upon his text. "I beseech the Lord to guide my tongue; that I may, as I desire, rather be his instrument to

further inward perfection in these holy mysteries, than seek to please your ears with a fyled speech and a flourish of words;" and, in his exhortations to his clergy, at visitations and synods, he constantly urged them thus—"Preach me Christ crucified; know nothing but him; put him before the eyes of God's people; glory in nothing but him;"—cautioning them not to let "the vain froth of human knowledge," and "the enticing eloquence of man's wisdom," ever give place to this.

The opinions and conduct of Bishop Bedell, as a churchman, were very strict; we have seen it exemplified in his conduct as a parish minister in Suffolk: his principles were, that "they were as much nonconformists who added of their own, as they that came short of what was enjoined;" and he also thought that, having bound himself by solemn obligations to abide by the form and rules of the Church of England, it was his duty to do so fully and conscientiously. Should any one consider that Bedell was unnecessarily strict in this matter, let them reflect, that objections are not to be attended to, which are founded on fashionable relaxations of principle, exhibiting perhaps a conscience short of the proper measure. It is impossible not to admire Bishop Bedell's pious attention to the services of his Cathedral; he was constantly there at the times of common prayer, and often read it himself, and always with great reverence and affection; he preached twice on every Sunday, on the epistles and gospels for the day; and cate-

chised always before the sermon in the afternoon—in catechising he particularly delighted and excelled. He preached also regularly twice a year before the judges while on their circuit. The manner in which he delivered his sermons was exceedingly solemn, his voice was low and mournful, and there was a gravity and authority in him which impressed his hearers.

"When he came within the church," says Bishop Burnet, "it appeared, in the composedness of his behaviour, that he observed the rule given by the preacher, of keeping his feet when he went into the house of God; but, he was not to be wrought on by the greatness of any man, or by the authority of any person's example, to go out of his own way—though he could not but know that such things were then much observed; and measures were taken of men by these little distinctions, in which it was thought that the zeal of conformity discovered itself."

It will serve as a comment on these vague and guarded expressions of the Bishop of Sarum, to present, though somewhat abbreviated, the pithy and quaint account of the same matter that occurs in Mr. Clogy's narrative. "His entrance into the house of God was not like that of the Romish priest unto his popish altar, that gives *Dulian* worship to all the petty idols in his way; till at length he arrives at the altar, where the dreadful crucifix stands before him, and the conjuring pix where the fatedick hoste lyes enshrined; and, then like

Balaam's ass, falls down flat before it, as if he saw with her what her master did not. But his entrance was grave and reverent, without any incurvation, genuflection, oriental adoration, or topical veneration; so his attention, as his intention, was holy, reverent and exemplary, whether hearer or speaker, from the beginning to the end of God's worship and service, both in public and private; at all times and in all places alike, all things being done according to the Apostle's rule, in order and to edification. He came often to church in his episcopal habiliments, but oftener without. The ministering habits of his clergy he looked upon as academic distinctions of scholastic degrees, rather than ecclesiastical qualifications for the ministry."

He took care to have the service performed most strictly according to the rubric, and therefore read the entire of the psalms and anthems, such as the Te Deum, &c, and the doxology to the Trinity, himself, because that the existing mode of the minister and people reading the verses alternately is not prescribed by it; and it is traditionally said of him, that he thought the office of a common clerk to be quite useless in the church. Indeed, as wherever there is a response enjoined, it should be made by all the people, there seems to have been rather an injury done to public worship, by the introducing of this representative, to perform that essential duty in their stead. It has certainly induced much of cold formality, indifference, and inattention, and has tended greatly to frustrate

the original intention of the framers of our admirable liturgy—the keeping up of a continual sympathy of devotion between the clergyman and his congregation. Among the first of the responses is one, which will powerfully illustrate the truth of all this ; when the minister says to the people—"The Lord be with you"—and they answer,—"And with thy spirit,"—it is intended thus to recommend the several parties to their mutual sympathy ; and how is this interesting and important effect prevented entirely, by this answer being as it were proclaimed by the clerk, while the people are disposing of themselves conveniently in their new attitude of kneeling? As an instance of Bedell's particular attention to the rubric, it is related of him, that upon one occasion, when a curate reading prayers in the cathedral added some of his own to the collects ; on the repetition of the offence, the Bishop went from his seat to the reader's pew, took the book from his hand, suspended him for his presumption in the hearing of the congregation, and finished the reading of the prayers himself.

He always reserved the use of the Common Prayers of the church, for that purpose for which he considered them to be originally intended,—the solemn worship of Christians in public congregations, and never employed them in his family. He preached often in his episcopal dress, but not always; and seldom wore it in the afternoon. Finally, so very exact was he in the observance of ecclesiastical rules, that, on the occasion of the

marriage of Mrs. Bedell's daughter to Mr. Clogy, in Dublin, when they expressed a desire to be blessed by him, he would not do it, until he first took out a license for the purpose from the consistorial court of Dublin, "November 23. 1637—for his better defense against malevolent tongues."

The narrative of Mr. Clogy informs us of some circumstances, which it is necessary further to explain; it relates, that "The communion-table was placed by him, not at the east, but within the body of the chancel, without any steps of gradual ascension, or circumvallation by rails, though the custom had prevailed otherwise in most churches; there was no part of the service read at the communion-table, (save on a sacrament-day), but in the usual reading-desk, that all the congregation might hear and see. And for other innovations elsewhere introduced, he followed them not, whosoever was the promoter of them, as bowing to the word, or name, Jesus; bowing to the communion-table, (upon which lay neither basins nor candles), and towards the east, and such like; all founded upon ignorance and superstition. His judgment being, as Dr. Bernard well observes, that those were as well nonconformists who added of their own, as those who came short of what was enjoined; as he that adds an inch to the measure disowns it, as well as he that cuts an inch off." *

* The removing of the communion-table "from the middle of the chancel, where it had long stood, to the upper end, placing it there altarwise, gave

There is a great contradiction between this account and the reports which we have elsewhere mentioned, and of which the Bishop complains in a letter to the Primate; these were, that he bowed to the name of Jesus, prayed to the east, and was desirous to set up an altar. These accusations Bedell enumerates among others as calumnies, and thus establishes the truth of the facts here asserted by Mr. Clogy; who yet perhaps was somewhat mistaken in the motives that he attributes to the Bishop, for his conduct in respect to one of them. It is necessary to remark, that when the Irish canons were passed in the convocation of 1634, some slight deviations from the English ones were admitted; especially the Irish 7th, which corresponds with 18th English, only directs, that all persons attending divine service shall "use all such reverend gestures and actions, as by the book of prayer are prescribed in that behalf, and the commendable use of the church received;" it omits the following passage, which is to be found in the English canon—"when in time of divine service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons, as it hath been accustomed."* It is therefore highly probable that the Bishop, not considering it to be a matter of obligation to attend to the requirements

great offence in 1633. As, after the Reformation the altars were changed into communion-tables, and placed in the middle of the chancel to avoid superstition, many imagined that the tables were turned again into altars, in order to revive a superstitious worship." Rapin. Ed. Dub. 8vo. vol. x. pp. 262, 263.

* Dr. Mant's Hist. Vol. I. p. 498.

of the English Canon, yet impelled by his highly reverential feelings to do honour, in every possible manner, to the sacred name, did bow at it occasionally, but not habitually, or as a duty undertaken by him as a minister. I am persuaded that he thought it to be a circumstance indifferent as affected the conscience; and also that Mr. Clogy either means to confine the expression—"all founded upon ignorance and superstition"—to the bowing to the communion-table, or to the east, and the furnishing of the former with basins and with candles, or that he judged erroneously of the Bishop's feelings; nor can I imagine, but that the Bishop would have sympathized with the pious and warm sentiments expressed by Sir Edward Dering, even in the parliament of the Puritans.* An order had been made in October, 1641, "That all corporal bowing at the name of Jesus be henceforth forborne;" which gave occasion to a noble speech from Sir Edward, of which the following is a very short extract—"I may, I must, I will, do bodily reverence unto my Saviour, and that upon occasion taken of the mention of his saving name—JESUS. If Christ be God, if Jesus be God, all reverence, exterior as well as interior, is too little for him. I hope we are not going up the backstairs to Socinianism. In a word, Sir, I shall never obey your order, so long as I have a hand to lift up to heaven, so long as I have an eye to lift up to heaven; for these are corporal

* See his Speeches. 4to. Lond. 1642.

bowings, and my Saviour *shall* have them at his name—JESUS."

There was one great peculiarity in the Bishop's conduct, which shewed that, when he was left free from any obligation, he by no means followed blindly the usages of the Established Church: he thought that, where she had prescribed in the most indifferent matter, his positive duty was a strict obedience; but that, where she had laid down no rule, he was at perfect liberty to dissent from any of her practices, however they might seem to be recommended by venerable origin, continued habit, or other apparently good reasons. He therefore objected to "the pomp of a choir," and the use of instrumental music; although "the Psalms of David were his delight in private and public." Bishop Burnet has given as the reason for this opinion of Bedell,—"that he thought that the use of music in this manner in churches, filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from the serious attention to the matter; which is indeed the singing with grace in the heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleased. And, when another bishop justified these things, because they served much to raise the affections; he answered, That in order to the raising of the affections, those things that tended to edification ought to be used; and thought it would be otherwise hard to make stops, for, upon the same pretence, an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the sense he had of the excesses of superstition, from what he

had observed during his long stay in Italy, made him judge it necessary to watch carefully against the beginnings of that disease, which is like a green sickness in religion."

All this is most probably true; and the effect which must have been deeply impressed upon a mind so sincere, simple, and devoted, as that of Bedell, by the very unhallowed use of music in the churches of Italy, and the dangers of its fascinations, can only be justly estimated by those who have visited that country, and seen how this enchanting art is interwoven with all the follies and fallacies of its sensual worship, so as to entangle many and retain them in the silken meshes of its net. It should perhaps be urged upon this subject, that there is much of constitution, in the objections which some excellent individuals make to the use of organs, in celebrating the praises of God: if Luther and Zuinglius were found to promote, and Bedell, and the worthies of the Reformation in Scotland to oppose it, one moving cause, for these latter to act thus, was perhaps to be found in their own want of capacity to be properly moved by such kind of music. It is indeed likely, from all that we read of Bishop Bedell, that he had no great natural relish for this art. His character was deeply solemn and serious. But those who have a love for music, and much of devotion also, will perhaps feel, that the organ in the house of God is well calculated to encourage and enliven, nay, often to originate motions of the purest and most uncarnal piety in

the soul. Such is probably the experience of many; and surely that is not to be condemned upon principle, which appears to have been justified by the practice of God's earliest Church upon earth, of David and all the sweet singers of Israel; and which will be the occupation of his Church triumphant in heaven. I do not rest here upon the instruments of music mentioned in the Psalms, or stop to inquire whether that view which is presented to us in Rev. v. 8, xiv. 2, and xv. 2,—of saints "having the harps of God," of "harpers harping upon their harps," as they sung the "new song before the throne,"—be symbolical only, or the image of a reality; it is enough for our present argument, that the use of instrumental music receives in these passages a stamp of approbation from the Holy Spirit, or they would not have been employed as a justifiable medium for conveying some idea of unspeakably hallowed things, in the most hallowed manner, to earthly minds. It is remarkable also, that these passages contribute, perhaps more than any other in the Bible, to holy excitement. We would suggest from this that, although Italian perversion and excess should be jealously watched against, this is not to be done by shutting our ears against the music of instruments in churches altogether. Indeed, in the use of all God's creatures abuse is to be avoided; but there may be more want of faith in flying from the temptation, and rejecting the moderate enjoyment of them, than many are aware of.

To return to Bishop Bedell's strict observance of the duties ordained by the formularies of the established church, Isaac Walton, the biographer of his patron, Sir Henry Wotton, when writing of Bedell's high character, bestows on him the following eulogium: "His life was so holy that he seemed to equal the primitive Christians; for, as they, so he, kept all the ember weeks; observed (besides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very strictly; and so he did all the feast and fast days of his mother, the Church of England. To which I may add, that his patience and charity were both such, as shewed his affections were set upon things that are above; for, indeed, his whole life brought forth the fruits of the Spirit." *

At a period when the parties in the church of England, which have acquired the names of High and Low, are daily becoming more and more opposed to each other in some of their respective dogmas; and when many also of the peculiar sentiments of the times of Bedell and of Laud, as elsewhere alluded to by Burnet and in this memoir, are reviving in their influence, and promising to lead to important results; opposite opinions will necessarily be holden by different individuals, respecting the strict adherence of Bishop Bedell to the rules laid down by the articles and rubric of the Book of Common prayer, and by the canons. But, in truth, there is nothing more easy to comprehend, than the motives

and conduct of this simple and sincere prelate, or more manifest than their propriety and good sense. Having, with intelligent and scriptural judgment, approved and adopted these rules in things material; and thinking that, in such as were indifferent, and in which he felt himself to be free, he could with a safe conscience chuse to make them matters equally binding with the former, by entering into the voluntary obligations which are undertaken by ministers of the establishment; he did consent to make the usual subscriptions required at ordination. When once he had thus pledged himself, his just and uncompromising mind taught him to perceive, and to feel, that there was nothing now indifferent that was ordained; and that whatsoever might have been originally considered to be so, should thenceforth be received as a duty, to be performed in the literal and obvious meaning of the words, and without mental reservation, as long as he professed to continue a minister of the established church. No one that consults the Bible; and especially reflects upon its very first chapters, where the performance of an act, in itself indifferent, becomes by its single quality of disobedience a sin, involving in itself the most tremendous consequences, but must understand the principle of all this; or look for any other conduct than that of Bedell, in a man of truth. If such obedience in a minister, not blind or implicit as in the Romish creed, but enlightened and just, be high church, and the reverse be low, it distinctly manifests the former to

bear, in this instance, a clearer and more noble impress of truth itself; and that it is likely to be acknowledged as of more sterling value, and to contain in it less of alloy, on that day when "the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." 1 Cor. iii. 13. We have seen that Bedell "thought conformity was an exact adhering to the rubric."—but further than this he did not think himself bound; and we have therefore seen that, in the instance of congregational music, where nothing was prescribed by the church, or enjoined by the Holy Scriptures, respecting the particular manner of its use, he acted independently, not only of the universal usage of his church at the time, but of the practice handed down in it, traditionally, from the earliest ages of Christianity. Finally, we must perceive, from every part of his conduct, how very different were the high church principles by which he was so manifestly swayed, from those which are now becoming fashionable in England; and which are in fact but a more luxuriant second bloom of those that he had disapproved of, to his hindrance, when an humble pastor at Horningshearth: and we must also observe, that he formed no precedent for persons who now ransack antiquity, to enable them to urge upon the consciences of men, on the authority of the fathers and of tradition, opinions and ceremonies which our fathers had rejected, and our church by implication condemned; and who, putting them forth also as matters of vast consequence towards the perfection of a christian church, imi-

tate the requirements of Rome herself, in their demand for implicit faith in their importance. Before that Bedell would have ventured to press any such matter upon the minister of the English church, as a dogma which he should believe and inculcate, he would certainly have inquired whether or not it were in the bond; or at least, if argued that it were to be implied from it—is it written in the great text-book, from which the draft of the human contract was originally made? Nor would he, upon lesser warrant than this, have raised questions to disturb the peace of the church; to tempt to a breach of its unity by schism; or, what is still worse, to contribute to the widening of that aperture, through which there is danger that a current of apostacy will set in—and a deluge of spurious Romanism inundate the plains that have been redeemed from spiritual stagnation, by the labours and the blood of so many worthies of the English Reformation.

Many circumstances, however, in the conduct of Bishop Bedell demonstrate, that he had not any, even the least leaven of bigotry, or prejudice, in his marked preference of the episcopal and established church. He was exceedingly affected at the breaking forth of those disturbances in Scotland, in 1639, which raged with such fury against episcopacy, the book of Common Prayer, and the established church in general; and, when he heard of them, he exclaimed, in the words used by Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople, when much commotion was raised in

the second general council upon his account—"If this great tempest is risen for our sakes, take us up, and cast us into the sea, that so there may be a calm." "Some of those."—I give the anecdote here related in the words of Bishop Burnet—"Some of those that were driven out of Scotland, by the fury of that time, came over to Ireland; among these there was one Corbet, that came to Dublin, who, being a man of quick parts, writ a very smart book, shewing a parallel between the Jesuits and the Scotch covenanters, which he printed under the title of 'Lysimachus Nicanor.' The spirit that was in this book, and the sharpness of the style, procured the author such favour, that, a considerable living falling in the bishop of Killala's gift, he was recommended to it, and so went to that bishop; but was ill received by him. The bishop had a great affection to his country, (for he was a Scotchman born), and, though he condemned the courses they had taken, yet he did not love to see them exposed in a strange nation, and did not like the man that had done it. The bishop was a little sharp upon him; he played on his name, Corby in Scotch being a raven, and said, it was an ill bird that defiled its own nest."

"Several other things he said, which in themselves amounted to nothing, but only expressed an inclination to lessen the faults of the Scots, and to aggravate some provocations that had been given them. Corbet came up full of wrath, and brought with him many informations against the bishop,

which at any other time would not have been much considered; but then, it being thought necessary to make examples of all that seemed to be favorable to the covenanters, it was resolved to turn him out of his bishopric, and to give it to Maxwell, who had been bishop of Rosse in Scotland, and was indeed a man of eminent parts, and an excellent preacher, but, by his forwardness and aspiring, he had been the unhappy instrument of that which brought on all the disorders in Scotland. A pursuivant was sent to bring up the bishop of Killala; and he was accused, before the High Commission Court, for those things that Corbet objected to him; and, every man being ready to push a man down that is falling under disgrace, many designed to merit by aggravating his faults. But, when it came to our bishop's turn to give his sentence in the court, he, that was afraid of nothing but sinning against God, did not stick to venture against the stream. He first read over all that was objected to the bishop at the bar; then he fetched his argument from the qualifications of a bishop, set down by St. Paul in his epistles to Timothy and Titus; and assumed that he found nothing in those articles contrary to those qualifications—nothing that touched either his life, or doctrine. He fortified this by shewing in what manner they proceeded against bishops, both in the Greek and Latin churches, and so concluded in the bishop's favour. This put many out of countenance, who had considered nothing in his sentence but the consequen-

ces that were drawn from the bishop's expressions, from which they gathered the ill disposition of his mind; so that they had gone high in their censures, without examining the canons of the church in such cases. But, though those that gave their votes after our bishop were more moderate than those that had gone before him had been, yet the current ran so strong, that none durst plainly acquit him, as our bishop had done: so he was deprived, fined, and imprisoned; and his bishopric was given to Maxwell, who enjoyed it not long. "Burnet adds, that "The old degraded bishop Adair was quickly restored to another bishopric; from which it may appear, that he was not censured so much for any guilt, as to strike a terror in all that might express the least kindness to the Scotch Covenanters. But our bishop thought the degrading of a bishop was too sacred a thing to be done merely upon politic considerations." Mr. Clogy relates that Adair afterwards told him,—"that there was none that opened their mouths in his defence but my most worthy bishop; and yet there was none in the court that said a word against what my bishop had spoken for him."

A very remarkable anecdote is related, but at tedious and unnecessary length, in the MS. narrative so often quoted—the following extract will interest, as it shews forth the estimation in which Bedell was holden even in Scotland; and contains a frank tribute to his worth from his ancient opponent Dean Bernard. When a minister came unto him

for a licence for four months' liberty, to visit his friends in Scotland, together with the licence he gave him an Irish New Testament, to carry with him into those parts where the Irish tongue was used. His licence began thus—Gulielmus, providentiâ divinâ, Kilmorens Epis. A. B. dilecto mihi in Christo fratri et synpresbytero, selectum &c.—which, when it was shewed to Mr. John Adamson, Provost of the College of Edinburgh, and the company of many ministers that had been great sticklers for the Scottish covenant, and active in driving out their bishops, they were amazed at that antiquated style of "to my brother and co-presbyter;" but, when they heard the description of him, they said, with one mouth, What have we done? if the King will give us such bishops as this, we will beg them upon our knees of him, with all our hearts." A long conversation ensued, which Adamson is represented to have concluded with a high commendation of Bishop Bedell; and a "desire of *his* long continuance and flourishing in the church of God, that was so singular a bright star shining so eminently in it, as Dr. Bernard, (that was his Dean,) concludes his short character of him in these words;—"If the moderation of this bishop had been observed elsewhere, I believe episcopacy might have been left upon its wheels."

An instance of the liberal spirit of Bishop Bedell, exhibited by the tolerating of differences of opinion, in matters of minor importance,

exists in the manner in which he supported the plan of Mr. Dury, to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists with each other. This gentleman devoted himself entirely, for a long period, to promote this Christian object; he wrote letters to, or visited, the most influential persons in Europe, in order to interest them in the great result; and would in all probability have accomplished it, had it been really practicable to succeed in such a project in this world. He procured a synod to be assembled at Dort in 1618—9, which lasted six months, the principal result of whose deliberations was, a decision against the doctrines of Arminius.

Bedell corresponded with him much upon the subject; and regularly transmitted to him £20 annually—a very large sum in those days—to assist in defraying the expences of his negotiations. The Bishop also, by his good sense and moderation, assisted the project more efficiently at home. There was in Dublin a company of Lutherans, who, refusing to join in communion with the Church of Ireland, were cited to answer for it in the Archbishop's consistorial court. They desired time to consult with their divines in Germany; but they, in their letters, objected to communion with that church, because it did not explain the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, in a manner agreeable with their doctrine. The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Bulkeley, sent these letters to Bedell, requesting that he might answer them speedily; which he did in a manner so learned and clear, as entirely to

satisfy the German divines; they therefore advised their countrymen to join in communion with the church, which they accordingly did from that time—"For," as Burnet justly observes, "such is the moderation of our Church in that matter, that, no positive definition of the manner of the presence being made, men of different sentiments may agree in the same act of worship, without being obliged to declare their opinion, or being understood to do any thing contrary to their persuasions." *

Bishop Bedell's opinions respecting Romanists partook of the same truly Catholic spirit that he evinced towards other sects of professing Christians; and persons who do not duly consider that it was the system, and not the individual, which he ever without compromise opposed, will perhaps be tempted to consider him as being not entirely consistent in this particular. He maintained that there is salvation for members of the Roman Catholic Church; and "many, not only good, moral, civil, honest men there, but good Christians; not redeemed only, but in the possession of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." His reasons for this opinion are given at length in his Sermon on Rev. xviii. 4.—"Come out of her my people"—which has been already published. The principal is the

* This reminds us of the prudent answer of Elizabeth, when a princess, to those who desired to entrap her, by asking her what she thought was the meaning of our Lord's expression, 'This is my body'—

Christ was the word and spake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what that word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

following irresistible one, that, if it be true that Rome be the Babylon which is addressed in the text, there must be in that city of destruction, Christians—"my people"—the people of the Lord Jesus—for "how could our Saviour call his people from thence, if he had none there?" this conclusion is indeed undeniable. Amongst other reasonings he thus contends—"God's providence, in the general revolt of the ten tribes, when Elias thought himself left alone, had reserved 7000, that had not bowed to the image of Baal (1 Kings xix. 18.) and the like may be conceived here, since, especially, the idolatry practised under the obedience of mystical Babylon is rather in false and will-worship of the true God, and rather commended as profitable, than enjoined as absolutely necessary; and the corruptions there maintained are rather in superfluous addition, than retraction of any thing necessary to salvation." In this excellent sermon on the subject he treats of the question—"Whether the church of Rome be a true church, or no?" and seems to determine it in the affirmative, by the following manner of putting it—"Whether the people of Christ that are under *that* captivity, be a true church, or no?" "This doctrine," he says, "I know not how it can offend any, unless it be in being too charitable; and that I am sure is a good fault, and serves well for a sure mark of Christ's sheep, and may have a very good operation to help Christ's people out of Babel—'By this,' saith He, 'shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye

have charity one to another.' But they call us heretics, miscreants, dogs, &c. and persecute us with more deadly hatred than Jews and Turks—yea, this is Babylon, and perhaps some of God's people in it, that are misinformed of us. Thus did Saul for a while, yet a chosen vessel to bear Christ's name over the world. But let us maintain our charity to them, as we are wont to bear with the weakness of our friends, or children, when in hot fevers or phrensies, they miscall us: Let us remember, if they be Christ's people, how little loving soever they be to us, they must be our beloved brethren." The conclusion of this sermon is so striking that I shall transcribe it here; especially as it exhibits the faithfulness and liberality of Bedell's expressions and opinions, in a very remarkable manner. "I say unto you the rest of my Lords, Fathers, and Brethren, help your friends, followers, and tenants out of Babylon, what you may, in your places; you have examples of Abraham, Joshua, Cornelius, praised in scripture for propagating the knowledge and fear of God, in their families and commands, with the report of God's accepting it, and rewarding it, and this to the use of others. But shall you not carry away something for yourselves also? yes, verily, take to yourselves this voice of our Saviour—Come out of Babylon. You will say, we have done it already; God be thanked we are good Christians, good protestants; some of us preachers, and that call upon others to come out of Babylon: but if St. Paul prayed the

converted Corinthians to be reconciled to God; and St. John, writing to believers, sets down the record of God touching his Son, that they might believe in the name of the Son of God; why may not I exhort, in Christ's name and words, even those that are come out of Babylon, to come out of her?—But, if there be any yet unresolved, and halting, or hanging between two, (as the people did in Elias' time,) that present their bodies at such meetings as this is, when their hearts are perhaps at Rome, or no where; if any are in some points rightly informed and cleared, and in others doubtful; to such Christ speaks, 'Come out of her, my people;' press on by prayer, conference, reading, (if Christ's voice be to be heard:)—and, let it be spoken with as little offence as it is delight: we that seem to be the forwardest in reformation are not yet so come out of Babylon, as that we have not many shameful badges of her captivity—"Again" in this journey let us not trouble and cast stumbling blocks before God's people, that are ready to come out; or hinder one another with dissentions in matters either inexplicable, or unprofitable."*

The consideration of this subject leads us natu-

* Dean Bernard, his former violent opponent, but his warm eulogist in 1659, writes thus of this Sermon of Bishop Bedell—"I heard him preach it in Christ Church, Dublin, A.D. 1634, before the Lord Deputy and Parliament. The occasion of his giving a copy of it was, at the request of a papist, to have shown it to some learned men of his own religion; and my opportunity to have it was, the near relation I had to him for divers years in that see—after these 22 years lying latent with me, I have taken this occasion to publish it."—Mr. Clogy informs us, that the Dean's copy was imperfect, and laments that "it was not rightly printed."

rally to that of one of the most extraordinary facts recorded of Bedell, which is, that notwithstanding the steadfast manner in which he set himself to impugn the errors of the church of Rome, to correct the immoralities of the members of that church, and to oppose its progress, he was the means of converting several even of its priests, who in the trying period of the great rebellion evinced the sincerity of their change, by a strict adherence to their newly received faith, in the face of every species of persecution; and was likewise so popular among all the people, that their own ministers were scarce more influential in his diocese than he was. There were many causes to contribute to these effects; the first was that on which we have already dwelt, his strict abiding by abstract truth, and his indulgence to individual frailty. He remembered that Christ came to call sinners to repentance; so that, while he abhorred the sin, he chose to make use of all the persuasions of love to induce its captives to break its chains. An extract from one of his sermons will exhibit his charitable and judicious manner of conducting controversy. It was preached upon the words of Christ,—"Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly." "I have," he says, "been long of this mind, that many in their sermons and writings are to blame, for their manner of dealing with the adversaries of their opinions, when they give reins to their tongues and pens, to railing and reproachful speeches; and think they have done well, when they exceed or equal them in this trade, wherein to have

the better is indeed to be the worse. And this is my poor opinion concerning our dealing with the papists themselves. Sure I am, the rule of the apostle is plain, even of such as are the slaves of Satan, that we must with lenity instruct them; waiting, that when escaped out of his snare, they should recover a sound mind to do God's will. Finally, he that in matters of controversy shall bring meekness to his defence, undoubtedly he shall overcome in the manner of handling; and if he bring truth also, he shall prevail at last in the matter."

A second circumstance which contributed to Bedell's great success, in this respect, was the authority of his conduct and demeanour. He says in one of his letters, "innocency and justice is a kind of real preaching"—and in this kind of oratory he was most eloquent and persuasive; while his morals were recommended by an aspect, and a manner, so dignified and engaging, that none went away unimpressed from his presence.

But a third and principal cause of his great popularity I must enlarge on in the next chapter; it was the fact of his having discovered the great secret, of making an alliance with the affections of the people in his attempt to enlighten them, by employing their native tongue as a medium for converging upon their hearts the rays of divine truth.

CHAPTER VI.

TRANSLATION OF THE IRISH BIBLE.

We have considered at large the value for the Irish language, as a medium for effecting some reconciliation in the minds of the natives of Ireland, to their British connection; and also for communicating to them that knowledge which alone maketh wise unto salvation, and which, disseminated among a people, is certain to contribute, ultimately, more than any other means, towards their civilization also. We have shown, that while the employing of it would have the effect of removing one of the great subjects of deadly prejudice against the English, and of neutralising the others, the Irish people, on account of their devoted attachment to their supposed most ancient creed of Christianity, as well as to their really ancient tongue, can never be induced to change them when combined—while, on the other hand it is most certain, and the fact has been abundantly proved, that if any person, whether of Ireland or of Britain, attempt to instruct the Hibernian through that language, he will be attended to without suspicion; for the people possess, and are prodigiously

swayed, by the tradition, that through the agency of St. Patrick, Satan cannot speak the Irish tongue. The Irish Bible, therefore, they will read; and the priest who denounces it will endanger his power, and be likely to fail, both in authority and in estimation. It is still further the truth, that many of the mere natives love their language better than their old religion itself; the former is associated with nothing but sentiments of love, and, enshrined as it is in the heart, has no connection whatsoever with fear; the latter certainly possesses much of their affections, but it is also frequently accompanied with such circumstances of dread, as to make its visits to be received—not with the hundred thousand welcomes of the peasant—but with the cold formalities reserved for persons above the condition of friendly sympathies, and whose presence is usually a restraint.

No individual ever better understood, or more highly appreciated, this mainspring of the Irishman's soul, than Bishop Bedell—perhaps, as an Englishman, he saw better the full extent of its powerful sway, contemplating it, as it were, from a distance in all its influences; while he was in every way fitted to make a just estimate of its value, from his own knowledge of the world, and his acquaintance with history. It is related, that "he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard Fulgentio * preach

* The story of Fulgentio, or Fulgentius, is striking and affecting. He was a Minorite, and one of the seven divines that were associated with Paolo Sarpi, to oppose the Pope and his conclave in the business of the interdict. Like Antonio de Dominis he was induced to trust himself into the Pontiff's hands,

at Venice, with which he was much pleased. It was on these words of Christ, 'Have ye not read?' all the answer they could make to it was, 'No,' for they were not suffered to do it. Upon which he taxed, with great zeal, the restraint put on the use of the Scriptures by the See of Rome. This," it is added, "was not unlike what the same person delivered in another Sermon, preaching upon Pilate's question, 'What is truth?' he told them that at last, after many searches, he had found it out; and held out a New Testament, and said, 'There it was in his hand'—but then he put it in his pocket, and said coldly, 'But the book is prohibited'—which was so suited to the Italian genius, that it took mightily with the auditory. The Bishop had observed that in primitive times, as soon as nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar tongues:" he also knew, that when the churches of Europe had lapsed into error, it was by the use of the Scriptures they had been recovered; and, that especially in England, the reformation had been accomplished by publicly opening the Bible to the people.

Under these convictions and impressions, therefore, Bishop Bedell was determined, from the beginning, to try the efficacy in Ireland of the native tongue. We have seen that he commenced an

and like him he fell a victim to his credulity. He was by the Pope's "nuncio trained to Rome, on promise of safe conduct; where, being favoured and feasted at first, soon after in the field of Flora he was burnt to ashes." Fuller's Church History, ad ann. 1622.

Irish lecture in the College of Dublin, when he was Provost of that seminary;* and many were prepared by it for a future ministry in that language. Almost immediately upon his promotion to the Bishopric of Kilmore, he endeavoured to procure for the people, the opportunity of hearing the gospel in the language in which they were born. The first difficulty that was to be removed in attempting to gain this point, was the indifference of the clergy—"he lamented to observe† that the native Irish were little regarded by the clergy of the church, but were left entirely in the hands of their own priests;" "an opinion indeed generally prevailed, that Romanists formed no part of the flock committed to their care. The very erroneous idea had been admitted among them, that Roman Catholics should be left entirely for spiritual teaching to these priests; and it seems to have occurred, even to Ussher himself, that an active interference with them, such as that of Bedell, was at least imprudent, if not improper. The aggressive character, which essentially belongs to the ministry of the gospel in spiritual warfare, and which formed a necessary part of it from the time that our Saviour first issued his great missionary command, was but little understood even until some years of the present century had elapsed, when our clergy, as it

* In a letter to the Primate he mentions Mr. Crian, a converted priest, and Mr. Nugent; besides "we have sundry in the College, and namely, two trained up at the Irish lecture, one whereof hath translated your Grace's Catechism into Irish; besides Mr. Duncan, *and others.*"

† Bishop Mant's History, V. I. p. 467.

were quite suddenly, opened their eyes to perceive that the souls of all the inhabitants of their several parishes were committed to their charge—and who, it may be demanded, required their attention so much as the Romanists? They, far from being indifferent to religion, and devoutly bowing to the name of Jesus, were kept in the grossest ignorance on the subject by their nominal pastors; and were even taught to blend their devotions with idolatry, by those to whom the protestants would have exclusively committed their instruction.

It may be added, that the Church and State were in this point of view diametrically opposed to each other, in their manner of acting towards the poor Roman Catholics; who were kept out of the only path which led to conformity, by the exclusiveness of the former, and yet were required to practise it by the enactments of the latter; while the State was absurdly contradictory to itself also, in passing laws, with many penalties, which were never promulgated in the language of at least one half the population of the kingdom.

It will again become a painful duty to record, what must at this day be a matter of astonishment to many, that Bedell was somewhat rebuked by the Primate for his zeal in endeavouring to dissipate the gross error that obscured the minds of the Roman Catholics. His meek and christian letter, written to Ussher on the occasion, will speak this story best.

"Most Rev. father, my hon. good Lord.

"The superscription of your letter was most welcome unto me, as being under your own hand, the best evidence of the recovery of your health, for which I did, and do, give hearty thanks unto God. For the contents of them, as your Grace conceived, they were not so pleasant. But 'the words of a friend are faithful,' saith the wise man; sure they are no less painful than any other—unkindness cuts nearer to the heart than malice can do; I have some experience by your grace's said letters, concerning which I have been at some debate with myself, whether I should answer them with David's demand, 'What have I now done?' or, as the wrongs of parents, with patience and silence. But, Mr. Dean telling me, that this day he is going to you, I will speak once, come of it what will.

"You write that the course I took with the Papists was generally cryed out against, neither do you remember in all your life that any thing was done here, by any of us, at which the professors of the gospel did take more offence, or by which the adversaries were more confirmed in their superstitions and idolatries; wherein you could wish that I had advised with my brethren before I would adventure to pull down that which they have been so long a building. Again, what I did, you know was done out of a good intention; but you were assured that my project would be so quickly refuted with the present success and event, that there would be no need my friends to advise me from building such castles in the air, &c.

"My Lord, all this is a riddle to me. What course I have taken with the papists; what I have done, at which your professors of the gospel did take such offence, or the adversaries were so confirmed; what it is that I have adventured to do, or what piece so long a building I have pulled down; what those projects were, and those castles in the air so quickly refuted with present success—as the Lord knows, I know not. For truly, since I came to this place, I have not changed one jot of my purpose, or practice, or course, with papists, from that which I held in England, or in Trinity College; or found (I thank God) any ill success, but the slanders only of some persons discontented against me from other occasions; against which I cannot hope to justify myself, if your Grace will give ear to private informations. But let me know, I will not say my accuser, (let him continue masked till God discover him), but my transgression, and have place of defence; and, if mine adversary write a book against me, I will hope to bear it on my shoulder, and bind it to me as a crown."

In the conclusion the Bishop justifies himself with respect to various matters, and finishes thus. "Some other passages there be in your Grace's letters, which I,—but I will lay mine hand upon my mouth; and, craving the blessing of your prayers, ever remain,

your Grace's poor brother,
and humble servant.
W. KILMORE

Kilmore, March 29, 1630.

There is danger here, lest the falsely-called liberal toleration, but in fact, reckless compromise of the present day, should cover itself from objection under these sentiments of Ussher; it is, therefore, necessary to make some comment on the subject. There is perhaps no opinion that manifests more an entire ignorance of Satan's profound artifices and consummate insidiousness, than that which of late years has crept in upon the judgments of some of the best men in Great Britain—that Popery had changed its character with the times. This opinion originated in a practical ignorance of its working, and a blind reliance on its assertions; for even reflecting persons forgot, or believed not, that the system is one of equivocation from first to last. English-bred gentlemen and protestants, generally men of truth themselves, and therefore unsuspecting the want of it in others, credited every thing that was advanced—they had no experience of their own, nothing to contradict assertion, but what was advanced on the other side; and, having thus no tangible or visible symptoms to assist them, in judging of the truth which was carefully concealed from them, they attributed the opposite allegations to bigotry; and thus were led to seal the death-warrant of England's protestant independence. They have many of them, however, at last found out this truth, although it is to be feared too late, that Popery in the nineteenth Century is the same in principle that it was in the tenth, the self-same ingenious system of error; with this addition, that

it is now more set off, with all the gloss of Jesuitism spread over it, to dazzle and to pervert. To return to the opinions of Ussher; those persons can indeed know but very little concerning them, who may be tempted to imagine him to have in the least degree indulged sentiments, respecting the system itself, similar to these above alluded to. It was his gentleness, and those points of character which we have been painfully compelled to notice, as the human weaknesses of this incomparable, but not sinlessly perfect, prelate, which induced him to write thus to Bedell. We might just as well suspect Bishop Bedell himself of entertaining such compromising principles, because of his argument that there were children of God within the pale of Rome; while, in fact, in the very argument he assumes her to be the antichristian Babylon.

No—the truth with regard to both of these eminent prelates, each of them well experienced in the abominations of Romanism, was this, that they abhorred the system; and, for that very reason, they the more affectionately beheld its ignorant and deluded votaries with compassion.—Like their great master, they hated the sin, "and yet the sinner loved." But, according to the discrepancies of their natural characters, they were inclined to exhibit, both this hatred and this love, in somewhat different manners. Indeed, if we bring the entire subject to a trial, by the only proper test of genuine charity, whether manifesting itself towards the bodies or souls of men; the more even there is of

the march of intellect to instruct our judgment, and the less there is of bigotry to prejudice our feelings, so much the more must the system of Popery, particularly if connected with Jesuitism, be jealously eyed by well-disposed minds. Its buoyant ambition, which nothing can ever suppress; its establishing wherever it flourishes an *imperium in imperio*, chiefly by means of its confessional, the more powerful as it operates through the conscience, and with the sanction of eternal motives; its encouragement of ignorance,* for ever shunning, as it does, the light; its falsehood, by which it lives and thrives and reigns, in every thing justifying the means by the end; its slavery, and all such evil consequences that naturally flow from it, must ever make it to be dreaded by the true statesman, or by the patriot: while the Christian of any reflection or experience must abhor it, in its certain results of leading the devout to idolatry, and the indifferent to infidelity.

But to return, Bedell was much scandalized at the fact, that the ministers of the establishment left the native Irish entirely to their priests, in every thing but this,—that they received their tithes from them; and the more so, as these priests were grossly ignorant and negligent, and taught

* Two circumstances abundantly evidence this; the vigilant exclusion of certain of the most remarkable works from circulation, for instance, Locke on the Human Understanding; and the jealousy of free publication,—for even in Rome, booksellers' shops are few and contemptible, and but one journal issues from the press, the Weekly Court Gazette, a paper of about one-eighth the size of the London Times!

the people nothing, but to repeat in the Latin language their Paters and Aves. He commenced then with these ministers, taking example in this from the course of the Reformation in England, where the pastors were almost universally the first brought to the discovery of Romish errors and of scriptural truths, in which discoveries they were soon followed by their flocks. The success of the Bishop's efforts was surprising, especially in a convent of friars that was near him; several priests were converted through his means, and he was so well convinced of the sincerity of some among them, that he provided them with ecclesiastical benefices. His manner of proceeding with them was simple and sincere. "He desired them," says Mr. Clogy, "to put in writing what they could say for their own way of religion, or against ours; which they did, and made open recantation in the cathedral church of Kilmore on the Lord's day, and abjured all parts and parcels of Popery, from head to foot." To this passage follows a long epistle, written in Latin, full of arguments on the vital question of Justification by faith, or by human merits; and addressed by the Bishop to the most celebrated of his converts, Mr. Denis Sheridan, at whose house he closed his useful life: he there calls this doctrine, that on which the hinge of all our salvation turns, —"in quâ cardo totius salutis nostræ vertitur."

A considerable outcry was raised against these measures, and they were destined to undergo the usual ordeal of all wise attempts among an ignorant

people; it was said that they were contrary to the interests of the English in Ireland, "by his endeavouring to make the conquered and enslaved Irish capable of preferment in Church and State, which was the portion of the conquerors,—which no man did ever so much as once attempt before his Lordship." It was insisted that these converts were Papists at heart, and the more dangerous from the disguise which they assumed. But the Bishop considered his duty as a Christian alone,—"If," said he, "to help a poor captive out of Turkey hath been honourable to some ministers, what should it be to help to the encouraging of many thousands out of the bondage of man's traditions?" Consistently with the rest of his opinions, "he also thought that the true interest of England was to gain the Irish to the knowledge of religion; and to bring them, by the means of that which only turns the heart, to love the English nation." The Bishop still further expected, that the converted clergy would be zealous in attempting to gain others, from among their former brethren, to follow them; as for the individuals thus gained he never lost sight of them himself, but was assiduous in working in their understandings a full conviction of the truth of the reformed religion, and of impressing on their hearts a deep sense of the value of the gospel. In this attempt the friend and instructor of Fra-Paolo was not likely to fail; on the contrary it is a remarkable fact, that of all the converts he had thus promoted, there was but one that fell back,

when the great rebellion broke out: of him indeed it is said, that he was among the first* to plunder and slay the English,—"But no wonder," Burnet remarks, "if one murderer was among our Bishop's converts, since there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour." Although it ought not indeed to be matter of astonishment to any one, that persons roused suddenly, from the sleep of death, to a sense of the value of religion, should be firm in their profession of faith; for, surely, more of such steadiness is to be expected from those who are thus brought out of darkness and superstition, to the enjoyment of pure gospel light, than from such as willingly slumber on, in the twilight of formal observance, satisfied with having commenced their sleep in the pulpit of a church whose religion is the Bible.

It does appear manifest, from the degree of success which attended Bishop Bedell's efforts to instruct and convert the Roman Catholic clergy, that there is a great deficiency somewhere, in these our days, respecting this point; for the number of the latter who have been of late years persuaded of the errors of Rome, and have obeyed the call to come out from her, has not, in the entire country, amounted to as many as were induced to do so by the arguments of Bedell alone. This fact, when we consider the multitude of the Protestant clergy

* The name of this person was P. Brady; he was one of the first murderers in the work of the rebellion; and was soon after slain, by the king's forces, close to the scene of his atrocities.

who at present are fully competent to discuss the subject, the improved intelligence of the times, and the better opportunities afforded in them for controversy, is somewhat difficult to be accounted for. It cannot for a moment be attributed to the truth being on the opposite side; if such were the case, that cause would not retreat into obscurity, it would meet argument with a bolder and fairer front, and in the great power of that truth prevail. Neither can it be said entirely to arise from the vast increase of watchful jealousy, narrow instruction, and other circumstances of cunning and deception, with which the education of young priests is now beset by Jesuits, and the other machinery of Rome, although these have doubtless great effect; for, among so many hundreds, there must assuredly be several, who, by their candour and intelligence, are fit subjects for emancipation from error and from ignorance; one cause still remains, and it is sufficient to account for much of this result,—the parochial ministers are not in the habit of entering into kind, intelligent, and Christian discussion, with the Romanist priests of their respective parishes. Were this to be more universally attempted, although in a great majority of instances the overtures would be certainly rejected, yet surely sufficient opportunities would remain, for bringing to conviction tenfold more than the number, which is recorded to have been benefited by the reasonings of Bishop Bedell. The attempt, as it is one of duty, would doubtless be blessed, but to what ex-

tent, we cannot calculate; although, to judge from an analogy with other faithful spiritual operations more active and successful in Ireland, it might be expected to lead, ultimately, to the emancipation of many districts from Papal despotism, through the intermediate teaching of a disenthralled priesthood.

One urgent reason which induced the Bishop to turn his attention to the clergy of the Church of Rome, and made him desirous to give them, if otherwise qualified, employment in his diocese, was the acquaintance with the Irish language, which they almost universally possessed. He considered this to be a matter of such importance, that, even in the case of Protestants who offered themselves to the ministry, he required it. He mentions to the Primate, in one of his letters, an instance of his having refused to admit a Mr. Brady, who had brought to him letters even from the Earl of Cork, and from Sir William Parsons, to whom Brady was nearly related, because that, upon examination, he found him, "besides a raw divine, unable to read the Irish;" and, in his form of collation already quoted, we find that he solemnly enjoins the new incumbent, to "perform divine offices in a tongue understood by the people."

That he might have it in his power to furnish the converts with the means of properly instructing the people, he caused a short catechism* to be

* It should be stated, that the Bishop engaged all his clergy to have an English school kept in their respective parishes; and printed for their use at Dublin, in 1631, a small catechism of one sheet, called "The A, B, C, or

printed on one sheet, with the Irish and English on opposite pages; this contained the elements of the Christian religion, together with some forms of prayer, and instructive passages of scriptures. It was sent all over his diocese; and we are informed that "it was received with great joy, by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness; and received this beginning of knowledge so well, that it gave good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours."

The Bishop, as in other cases where he contemplated improvement, was determined to lead the way; he resolved to acquire a knowledge of the Irish tongue. He was now nearly sixty years of age; and, although at that advanced age it is almost impracticable to become master of a new language, he succeeded to such an extent, that while incompetent to speak it, he was enabled to compose a complete grammar of the tongue, much superior to any then extant. To such as are acquainted with the arduous difficulties which attend the acquisition of the Irish, differing as it essentially does, both in its grammar and vocabulary, from English, French, Latin, or any of that class of cognate languages with which the Bishop was already acquainted, this proficiency must be matter of admiration; and, as much as any event in his life, it demonstrates the

Institution of a Christian." It consisted of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and some portions of Scripture containing the sum of the gospel, in the English tongue.

zeal and perseverance, as well as the capacity and foresight, of this admirable prelate. He not only afforded an example to encourage others in this instance, but had service in Irish every Sunday in his cathedral, at one o'clock in the afternoon, at which he was always present; engaged his clergy to set up Irish schools in their parishes; published the catechism just mentioned, and some forms of prayer in Irish; caused to be translated into English and Irish the first three of Chrysostom's homilies, and some sermons of Leo's, which commended the Holy Scriptures in the highest strains of eloquence; and, lastly, undertook to have the Old Testament translated for the people, into their native tongue.

It may be interesting to endeavour to obtain, from history, some account of the Irish versions of the Bible; but I am tempted previously to extract, from Prescott's History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, Vol. II. p. 373, a case so remarkably similar to that of Bedell, that not to notice it would be an inexcusable omission. It is the instance of Fray Fernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada in the reign of these monarchs, a learned, pious and amiable man. "The subject," says the historian, "which pressed most seriously on the mind of the good Archbishop, was the conversion of the Moors, whose spiritual blindness he regarded with feelings of tenderness and charity, very different from those entertained by most of his reverend brethren. He proposed to accomplish this by the most rational method possible. Though late in

life, he set about learning Arabic, that he might communicate with the Moors in their own language, and commanded his clergy to do the same. He caused an Arabic vocabulary, grammar, and catechism to be compiled, and a version in the same tongue to be made of the liturgy, comprehending the selections from the Gospels; and proposed to extend this at some future time to the whole body of the Scriptures. Thus unsealing the sacred oracles, which had been hitherto shut out from their sight, he opened to them the only true sources of Christian knowledge; and, by endeavouring to effect their conversion through the medium of their understandings,"—he might have added, 'and of their affections also,'—"instead of seducing their imaginations with a vain show of ostentatious ceremonies, proposed the only method by which conversion could be sincere and permanent."

The narrative adds, that "these wise and benevolent measures of the good prelate, recommended as they were by the most exemplary purity of life, acquired him great authority among the Moors; who, estimating the value of the doctrine by the fruits, were well inclined to listen to it, and numbers were added to the church." "Hacia lo que predicaba, é predicó lo que hizo,"—says Oviedo, —"He acted as he preached, and preached that which he performed;" "and, therefore, he was most successful and useful in that city, in promoting the conversion of the Moors." The sequel of the parallel must not be omitted. The popu-

lace of Granada had rebelled, and were coming in a torrent to destroy the stern and intolerant Cardinal Ximenes;*—"At length Talavera resolved to try the effect of his personal influence, hitherto so great with the Moors, by visiting himself the disaffected quarter. He was attended only by his chaplain, bearing his crucifix before him; and a few of his domestics on foot, and unarmed like himself. At the sight of their venerable pastor, with his countenance beaming with the same serene and benign expression with which they were familiar, when listening to his exhortations from the pulpit, the passions of the multitude were immediately stilled."

Very early and authentic notices occur of the Irish language having been honored, as the means of extending the knowledge of God's revealed word, but probably not, for some ages, as a written tongue. Bede mentions an instance that is most interesting; it is that of Oswi, King of Northumberland, who had sent for the celebrated St. Aidan to preach Christianity to his subjects, and himself fulfilled the office of interpreter, while the Missionary addressed them in his native Irish tongue. The same historian, in the very commencement of his ecclesiastical history, writes thus,—"This island," alluding to Britain," at this present, with five sundry languages, doth study and set forth the knowledge of the perfect truth,—that is, with the language of the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the

* Prescott, Vol. II. p. 384.

Latins, which, by the study of the Scriptures, is made common to all the rest." From this extract it would appear, that, while the Irish was used as a medium for preaching, the scriptures were confined to the Latin tongue; and that this was the only written language of religion. But we are by no means to suppose, that this arose from its being the language of the Romish See; it followed solely, and of necessity, from its having been that of the universal Church throughout the Roman Empire. The use of the Latin tongue in a Church, at that period, no more demonstrated a connection with the Pope of Rome, than with Arians, Heretics, Schismatics, or Infidels, who all of them wrote, or reasoned, on religious subjects in that language. It was obviously necessary that there should be some such tongue, in which the deputies to the general councils, from all parts of Christendom, should be enabled, if not to communicate their thoughts, at least to record their decrees: and that tongue was of course the Latin. With respect to our primitive church in these islands, it was remarkable, that in that tongue the ancient Britons discussed the subject of their independence with St. Austin, and rejected the assumptions of the Roman Pontiff; and in it St. Colman and the Irish Monks argued similar points in the Council of Whitby; its use, therefore, in these countries at that time, is no proof of a dependence upon Rome.

The first account that we any where meet with of an Irish version of the Bible, is that which we

have given of the translation of the New Testament into that tongue, made in the 14th century, by the Irish Primate, Richard of Dundalk; which he immured in his Cathedral of Armagh.

In more modern days, it was not until the reformation of Religion in England had caused the principle to be laid down, in the articles of her church, that "it is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to have public prayers in the church, or to minister the sacraments, in a tongue not understood by the people;" and that this principle was pressed upon the government; that this language was resorted to, as a means of spreading religious knowledge through the Irish scriptures. Urged, however, by her intelligent ministers, Queen Elizabeth, as we have already mentioned, sent over to Ireland a fount of Irish types,—"in hope that God would, in mercy, raise up some to translate the New Testament into their mother tongue."

The persons to whom these types were transmitted were, John Kearney, Treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and Nicholas Walsh, Chancellor of the same, who was afterwards Bishop of Ossory. This prelate commenced a translation of the New Testament, but, having been prevented from finishing it, by his being prematurely murdered "by one Dullard, against whom he had issued a Process of adultery," it was continued by Nehemiah Donnellan, Archbishop of Tuam, assisted by Mr. Kearney; and completed by William Daniel, or O'Donnell,

who was afterwards the successor of Donnellan in that See. This translation was published A.D.* 1602, at the expense of the province of Connaught, and of Sir William Ussher, the clerk of the council.

About this time we find that, upon a report to King James, made by the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, The Lord Chancellor, Lord Wilmot, Lord Caulfield, and others, that Prince issued orders in February, 1603, from which the following is an extract,—"We do also command that the New Testament, and Book of Common Prayer, translated into Irish, be hereafter frequently used in the parishes of the Irishrie: and that every non-resident there do constantly keepe and continue one to read service in the Irish tongue." And, in the next reign, King Charles I. in a letter written to Primate Ussher, with instructions relative to Ecclesiastical matters, directs that Primate, at his Grace's own request, "to take special care" respecting the orders of King James, that "the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer, translated into Irish, be frequently used in the parishes of the Irishrie; and that every non-resident there do constantly keep and continue one to reade service in the Irish tongue, as is expreslie commanded by the 36th article of the said orders."

We afterwards find the Convocation of 1634, enacting the canons which have been already mentioned.

The New Testament had been published; the

* Boyle's Works, i. 182.

Book of Common Prayer was also translated by Daniel, Archbishop of Tuam, and printed 1608-9 at his expense; to Bishop Bedell, therefore, it was left, to complete these works, by the addition of an Irish version of the Old Testament.*

Although the Bishop had been acquainted for some time with the native tongue, sufficiently well to check and revise the version, he of course entrusted the translation itself to some more competent person; and, after much inquiry, he selected, by the advice of the Primate and other intelligent men, an individual of the name of King, who had been a Roman Catholic, but was converted many years before. Mr. King was considered to be the most elegant writer then living in the Irish language, both in poetry and prose. He was about seventy years of age at the time; and, as the Bishop thought him not only fully qualified for this employment, but for the ministry also, he ordained him; and conferred upon him the benefice of Templeport, in his diocese. They then proceeded together with the version, which was made from the English translation, as neither Mr. King, or any of his nation, were acquainted with the originals; they were very much assisted in the work of translation by Mr. Dennis Sheridan, Bedell's most celebrated convert from among the Roman Catholic Clergy. Every day after dinner or supper, the Bishop read a por-

* It should be mentioned, that Bishop Bedell translated the Apocryphal books; the M.S. is preserved in Marsh's library, near to St. Patrick's Cathedral. Mr. Boyle refused to publish these books in his Irish Bible.

tion, comparing the Irish with the English, the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and with Diodati's Italian version, which he valued highly; in this he was always aided by his son Ambrose, and Mr. Clogy. He had thus an opportunity of improving, in some instances, on the English version, which he did in a few readings with good effect. The Bishop was so constant to this arduous work, that he finished it in a very few years. He then determined to publish it immediately, at his own expense, and in his own house, and made an agreement with a person who undertook to print it: the types were even sent for to Holland. The printing was, however, delayed by a circumstance upon which it will be necessary somewhat to enlarge, until the breaking out of the rebellion made it to be impracticable. "Now these things," Mr. Clogy informs us, "begat a great interest in the Irish nation, as if he had been the only man sent out of England to seek their natural good,—yea, their spiritual and eternal welfare; and they began to prefer him before St. Patrick, and call him their patron and patriarch."*

"It is scarcely to be imagined," says Bishop

* There is in the collection of Strafford's letters, Vol. 1. p. 151, a letter of Bishop Bedell to that Lord Deputy, dated Feb. 22, 1637.

It respects a cause of his, concerning two unjust leases of his predecessor, which was to be heard at the Council-board. "I had devoted, he says," "and dedicated all that I should recover herein to God, to be employed in the edition of the Irish Bible;" and he remonstrates against an unjust order, erroneously drawn up by the clerk of the Council, by which he would be deprived of five years of his mesne profits; and, as he is answerable to God for no more than he receives, he strongly appeals to the Lord Deputy, for the correction of this order, saying,—"It concerns your Lordship extremely, to be as careful to protect the interest of Almighty God, as that of mortal man."

Burnet, "what could have obstructed so great and so good a work. The priests of the church of Rome had reason to oppose the printing of a book, that has been always so fatal to them; but it was a deep fetch, to possess reformed divines with a jealousy of this work, and with hard thoughts concerning it. Yet that was done by a very well disguised method; for it was said, that the translator was a weak and contemptible man; and that it would expose such a work as this was, to the scorn of the nation, when it was known who was the author of it; and this was infused both into the Earl of Strafford, and into the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Bishop, who saw the weakness and falsehood, but yet felt the danger of this attack, immediately and fully justified the translation, and the translator, in a letter to the Earl of Strafford; he commenced with saying, that "the occasion is not any love of contention, or matter of profit; but God's honour, and, as he is witness, yours. He refers, for Mr. King's sufficiency, especially as an Irish Scholar, to the Primate, the Bishop of Meath, Lord Dillon, and Sir James Ware, the very best qualified to form an opinion on that subject at the time; * and says, "not to argue by conjecture and divination, let the work itself speak; yea, let it be examined *rigoroso examine*,—if it be found approveable, let it not suffer disgrace from the small boast of the work-

* Sir William Ussher, the publisher of the Irish New Testament, had also recommended him.

man ; but let him rather, (as old Sophocles accused of dotage,) be absolved for the sufficiency of the work."—To this rigorous examination this work has indeed been amply submitted ; and now, at the end of upwards of two hundred years, it stands allowed, by both Roman Catholics and Protestants, to be substantially above exception; save that which may be taken to it by those, among the former, who would do all in their power to put an impediment in the way of the circulation of the word of truth ; or such, among the latter, as will lend an ear to the hypercriticisms of persons interested in making out employment for themselves. Thus Bedell's greatest work, the Irish translation of the Old Testament, has received the same impress that stamped a sterling value upon his other great attempts at usefulness : it was at first assailed with a tremendous tempest of calumny ; but, strengthened in its roots by the storm, which soon passed away, it sprang up, and prospered, and flourished ; and now promises to prosper and to flourish still more, until the shade of its branches shall cover and refresh the entire land.

It is necessary to repeat that the severe persecution, both of the Bishop and his translator, which attended the important attacks on Mr. King's character and competency, originated in a minister of the established church. This person was named Baily ; the circumstances which gave origin to his animosity are as follows.

"It was," says Burnet, "a common abuse of

the time, for clergymen to pretend, either that an incumbent was dead, or that he had no good right to his benefice, or that he had forfeited it; and upon that to procure a grant of it from the King, and then to turn the incumbent out of possession, and to vex him with a suit till they forced him to compound for his peace. So upon this occasion it was pretended, that the translator had forfeited his living; and one Baily, that had informed against him, came down with a grant of it under the great seal, and violently thrust him out of it. The Bishop was much touched with this, and cited Baily to appear before him; he had given him a vicarage, and had taken an oath of him never to hold another; so he objected to him both his violent and unjust intrusion into another man's right, and his perjury. Baily, to cover himself from the last, procured a dispensation from the prerogative court, notwithstanding his oath to hold no more benefices. The Bishop looked on this as one of the worst and most scandalous parts of popery, to dissolve the most sacred of all bonds"—the obligation of a voluntary oath—so, without any regard to this, he served this obstinate man with several canonical admonitions; and, finding him still hardened in wickedness, in fine deprived him of the benefice, and excommunicated him. Upon this, Baily appealed to the Prerogative Court. The Bishop was cited and appeared; but he declined the authority of the Court, and thought it beneath the dignity of a Bishop to answer for a spiritual censure inflicted

on one of his clergy, before laymen. In his declinator of 24 articles, written in his own hand, he gave his many reasons at length; they were principally these,—because that the Primate did not sit in person; because the judges had given clear evidences of partiality and pre-judgment of the cause; because that the appeal should be to a provincial synod, or the Primate's consistory; and because, as the ground of the appeal was the dispensation from his oath which the judges had given to Baily, they were in fact parties to it. The Bishop showed also the impropriety of their conduct, in granting a dispensation contrary to God's law; and in interfering with the legal jurisdiction which, by the same law, and by the King's authority, he exercised over his diocese: and complained of their indecent conduct, in making him wait on them, for an hour and a half, among the crowd of the court. These were his principal grounds of objection, but they were not attended to; and, after being treated with the highest contempt, when he appeared personally to the several citations, because he continued firm in declining their authority, he was declared contumacious, and his perjured opponent was absolved from the sentence, and confirmed in his benefice. "It may be easily imagined," says Burnet, "how much these proceedings were censured by all fair and equitable men;" and Mr. Clogy observes, that, as upon a former occasion, so on this, it was generally said—"Solus Kilmorensis novit se gerere ut Episcopum;" for even the Primate, "though he loved the Bishop

beyond all the rest of the order, and valued him highly for the zealous discharge of his office that distinguished him so much from others, yet he could not be prevailed on to interpose in this matter; nor to stop the unjust prosecution that this good man had fallen under, for so good a work."

This account would be imperfect, were we to withhold the manner in which this persecution is complained of, in the letter written by the Bishop to the earl of Strafford upon the occasion;—after defending the competency of King in the words already quoted, he proceeds thus—"Touching his being obnoxious, it is true that there is a scandalous information put in against him in the High Commission Court, by his despoiler, Mr. Baily, (as my Lord of Derry told him in my hearing he was); and, Mr. King being cited to answer, and not appearing (as by law he was not bound), was taken pro confesso, deprived of his ministry and living, fined £100—decreed to be attached and imprisoned. His adversary Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new dispensation to hold his benefice;" —and a few days after his induction, "he brought down an attachment, and delivered Mr. King to the pursuivant. He was haled by the head and feet to horseback, and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept and continued under arrest these four or five months, and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed contempt by oath and witnesses—that by reason of his sickness he was hindered, whereby he was brought to death's door, and could not

appear and prosecute his defence; and that by the cunning of his adversary he was circumvented,—intreating that he might be restored to liberty, and his cause into the former estate. But it hath not availed him; my Rev. colleagues of the High Commission do, some of them, pity his case; others say, the sentence passed cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the court be attached. They bid him simply submit himself, and acknowledge his sentence just. Whereas the Bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal proceedings, do grant restitution in integrum; and acknowledge that 'Sententia Romanæ sedis potest in melius commutari.' My Lord, if I understand what is right divine or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs; which, if they reached only to Mr. King's person, were of less consideration; but when, through his side, that great work, the translation of God's book, so necessary for both his Majestie's kingdoms, is mortally wounded, pardon me, I beseech your Lorship, if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service, or what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your Lordship have gained, if he had died, (as is almost a miracle he did not), under arrest, and had been at once deprived of living, liberty, and life? God hath reprieved him; and given your Lordship means, upon right information, to remedy with one word all inconveniencies."

The Bishop of Down, in his History of the Irish Church, * remarks, that the plan of Bishop Bedell for the conversion of the Irish "appears not to have been approved by the government, and certainly not countenanced by Lord Wentworth, during his vice-royalty"—But, whatever this extraordinary man might have been compelled to by his system, his temper, and circumstances, it appears that his vigorous intellect approved of the principle and plan of Bishop Bedell; and that, although he was at first irritated at the conduct of the Bishop, and doubted of his measures, when both were misrepresented to him, he did not discountenance them when fully explained. Bishop Mant † considers the ultimate success of Bedell to be problematical; while he justly adds the following testimony respecting his conduct, to that which has already been quoted from his Lordship's work. "But, in any result, History owes its tribute of respectful and honorable notice to the calm solicitude, the dispassionate meditation, the unwearied energy, and the Christian piety and benevolence of the venerable prelate, who conceived, and, to the extent of his abilities, prosecuted and effected his design."

* Vol. I. p. 470.

† Another British Divine, the late celebrated Bishop Brinkley, appointed to a diocese in an Irish county, that of Cloyne in Munster, over which Dr. Berkeley had formerly presided, brought down thither the same doubts: but a view of the successful operations of the Irish Society in his neighbourhood induced him to change his mind; and to write to me, as Secretary of that institution, a note, containing the following sentence—"I feel it my duty to forward in every way the objects of the Irish Society."

CHAPTER VII.

PUBLICATION OF THE IRISH BIBLE, AND THE HISTORY OF ITS RESULTS: A.D 1681—1842.

I SHALL take this opportunity, before I proceed to detail the very interesting events which marked the close of Bishop Bedell's life, to relate shortly the not less interesting history of that version of the Bible, to the greater part of which he thus gave origin. We shall find it to be, in the circumstance of its first publication, connected with one of the greatest names that ever adorned the records of philosophy and philanthropy, or received a real glory from the appropriate epithet of Christian—the celebrated Irishman, Robert Boyle. This illustrious personage had already published the New Testament in the year 1681, when Bedell's original manuscript of the Old Testament, which had been fortunately preserved, by Mr. Dennis Sheridan, from that destruction which has deprived us of his other writings, was put into his hands. Doctor Henry Jones had received it from Mr. Sheridan; and when afterwards Bishop of Meath, in the year 1682, having heard of Boyle's anxiety to give to the people the Irish Scriptures in their

native tongue, wrote to inform him of its existence, and requested of him to assist in having it printed. The MS. was in consequence immediately committed, by Mr. Boyle, to Dr. Andrew Sall, a person especially competent to undertake its publication. "My labour and industry," he says, in a letter on the subject to Mr. Boyle, "I will not spare, and will lay aside other studies I was engaged in to attend to this work; being persuaded that none other can be of more importance for the glory of God, and the good of souls, in this poor country. I have been confirmed in this persuasion, by the great joy I see in the country for the publication of the New Testament; with many blessings on you, and prayers for you, whose great piety and bounty procured this happiness for them. Several gentlemen of this country, Romanists, came to me this term, earnestly desiring to have them for reading to their families; and one promised to urge their priests to read chapters of it at mass to the congregation." Dr. Sall preached every Sabbath day, and catechized in English and Irish, in the city of Cashel, under the countenance of Dr. Price the Archbishop; but not without opposition from a quarter where it should least be expected, for his Grace "was told, that while he went about to convert the Irish to God, he would lose the English"—a narrow, unfounded, and unscriptural prejudice, which not only at that time, but for centuries previously, and many years after, was almost universally prevalent in Ireland. Dr. Sall did not live

to complete his revision of the translation; and Dr. Anthony Dopping, who had succeeded Dr. Jones in the See of Meath, handed the MS. over to the Provost of the College, who employed a Mr. Higgins to finish it.

This Provost was a celebrated person, Dr. Narcissus Marsh; who was afterwards appointed successively Bishop of Ferns, Archbishop of Dublin, and in 1703, Primate of all Ireland: he founded the excellent Library that bears his name, which comprises all the books of Stillingfleet, and bequeathed it to the public. He was a good Irish scholar himself, had composed a grammar of the tongue, and was therefore easily induced to promote its use. Alluding to the efforts of Dr. Sall, he expresses his zeal in these words—"This inflamed me, and put me upon contriving how I might do something considerable that way, towards the carrying on so pious a work." Finding that the natives among the Scholars, although they could in general speak Irish, could not any of them read or write it—"I then," he says, "took up a resolution to provide a man at my own charges, who should teach them to read and write the Irish tongue; and that none thereafter, during my time, should be chosen into a native's place, that could not do both; which I observed as long as I was Provost." This led to his appointment of Mr. Higgins as a lecturer; and the engaging of him, "for his diet and lodging in his house, and £16 per annum, to teach the natives, and all who desired to attend

him; and to preach an Irish Sermon once a month" in the chapel, which was sometimes attended by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormonde. The Provost, in a letter to Mr. Boyle, mentions these sermons, and speaks of the "auditors as seldom less than 300, whereof several are papists;" and the Bishop of Meath, Dr. Jones, states that the "whole area of the chapel, with the rooms adjoining above and below, were unusually thronged" at one of these discourses; he asserts also that the number of attendants at the lectures "was generally eighty, among whom were some of the fellows and scholars." * Such was the general popularity of these wholesome measures; although, by a strange fatuity, they appeared to be even worse than folly to some of the rulers of the land, the heads of both the church and state. "At first," says the Provost, "I was much censured by some great men, (and amongst them by the late Lord Primate, then Lord Chancellor also,) as I was told. They saying, "that there is an act of Parliament for abolishing the Irish language, and I endeavoured to propagate it; for which I might be questioned in Parliament!" †

But to return—it was about forty-four years after the engagements entered into by Bedell, for printing his Irish Bible, had been frustrated by the breaking out of the Rebellion, that Robert Boyle

* Boyle's Works, V. I. p. 175, 6.

† Yet this prelate was honored by the name of Boyle. See a letter of Dr. Marsh in the Christian Examiner, November, 1833.

completed the work. This was not the only instance in which he had greatly promoted the promulgation of the word of God. He had, at his own charge, caused the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles to be translated into the Malayan tongue, and printed; he had contributed largely to impressions of the New Testament in the Turkish, and of the Bible in the Welsh languages; and caused a fount of Irish types to be cast, the old one having fallen into the hands of the Jesuits at Louvain, who, duly appreciating their value, caused several tracts to be published from them. In respect to the Irish version of the Bible, Mr. Boyle not only in the end contributed almost all the expenses towards its printing, but, by his letters and personal influence, kindled some zeal and much inquiry, touching the importance of the native language as a medium of instruction.

Marsh and Bishop Dopping co-operated with him, in his efforts to procure subscriptions for the publication, in which their success was so moderate, that Boyle, from first advancing one £50, and then another, was at length compelled to contribute almost the entire of the cost. Indeed his biographer asserts, that in the publication of the Scriptures he expended the sum of £700. * The following letter, written by him to Marsh upon the subject, cannot fail to be interesting. †

* Vol. I. preface, p. 139.

† This forms one of a series of twenty original letters, which came into my possession by an extraordinary casualty, about fifteen years ago. A

'It bears date January 17, 1681-2, and is addressed to Dr. Marsh, the Provost of Trinity College—"Sir, The last Fridayes post brought me the favour of your obligeing letter, wherein I found reason to be much satify'd, that the bookes, whose receipt you take notice of, met with so favourable a reception both from yourselfe, and the flourishing society where you worthily preside. But I have greater cause to rejoyce at the welcome news you send me, of the hopefull progress of the good worke you are carrying on, for the conversion of the Irish; and of my having been so happy as to have been a seasonable, and not unprosperous, contributer to it. I fear the death of the good Bishop of Meath will have an ill influence on that worke, to which he was so affectionate; but I hope *He*, whose service is aimed at in it, will raise up some other useful instrument to supply his place, and will quicken the diligence of those that remaine well-wishers to it. Among these, I looke upon Dr. Marsh as the likeliest person to promote it, haveing already so

near relation, who married a lady of the family of Boyle, purchased an ancient house at Drumcondra, near Dublin, which had formerly belonged to Primate Marsh. In the corner of a lumber-room of this mansion was a large heap of papers, and among them a parcel consisting of letters, indorsed with the name of Boyle; they brought them away for further examination, and subsequently put them into my hands.

I was at that time engaged in preparing some publication for the use of the Irish Society, and was seeking for additional authority for certain of my assertions, respecting the part which Robert Boyle took in the printing of the Irish Bible; and my surprise may be well imagined, when I found them to be his original letters, written on the subject to the Provost, Dr. Marsh.

One of these letters contained the actual estimate of the printer, for the expense of the work; which, including the paper, amounted to £333.

vigourously and happily engaged himselfe in it. I am glad that so useful a designe, as that of frameing a compendious Irish Grammar, has been conceived by one that is so able to execute it well: but, I presume, you will want letters for many of the Irish words; in which case, you may please to consider what use may be made of those I have already, that may be consistent with the printing of the Old Testament in the language they relate to; for all the designe I had in having them cut off was, that they might be in a readiness to print useful bookes in Irish, whether there or here. I rejoyce that Mr. Higgins has so many hearers, especially of the Romish religion; the New Testament, whether read or preached, haveing been, as far as I have observed, that Protestant booke, which of all others has been the most successful in converting Romanists.

"Your most affectionate, and
most humble servant,
R. BOYLE."

We have seen that Mr. Boyle had caused the original translation of the New Testament by Daniel to be revised, and somewhat altered; and that he published it, in an edition of 500, with a preface in Irish, A.D. 1681. The person whom he had employed was a good Irish scholar, of the name of Reilly; he was anxious to induce Mr. Boyle to make material alterations in the version of the Old Testament by Bedell, alleging, as his principal

reason, that it followed too closely the idiom of the English language; and that, were it altered, "it would take the more with the people, because the priests should have the less to object against it, if they kept as near the vulgar Latine, *which in this is not done*, as the original text will bear." This is a most valuable testimony to its freedom from Romanist errors; and certainly weighed with Mr. Boyle for letting it remain unaltered, rather than the contrary; in this he was confirmed by his discovery of the interested motives of Reilly for giving this advice.* In a letter to Marsh, (at that time Bishop of Ferns), dated February 14, 1684, after mentioning that Reilly demanded an allowance "extraordinary for his pains in correcting, as well the translation, as the press," he thus adds—"For his intended correction of the version itself, I would give him no encouragement in it, till I had first acquainted your Lordship, and begged your judgment, and that of your reverend learned friends—whether he be encouraged, or at least permitted, to innovate in the translation—unless it is apparent that it must be done to keep the propriety of the Irish Language, and may be done without departing from the sense." The result was, that the Old Testament was printed accurately from the

* It does appear that his complaints were made to promote his own advantage; (Boyle's works, Vol VI. p. 606, 7) and that Marsh, having in consequence of them inquired of the most competent judges, they gave it as their opinion, that the Irish version of the Old Testament "is a good, plain, familiar translation; and that, if it were more elegant, it would not be so fit as it now is for vulgar use."

original MS. of Bedell, in 1685; in quarto, to accord with the New Testament of 1681.

In the progress of this business Mr. Boyle was encouraged by the warm approbation and countenance of the Primate Sancroft—a prelate who was so great an admirer of the character of Bishop Bedell, that he formed at one time the intention of writing a memoir of his life;—and also, by Bishops Lloyd and Fleetwood in England; the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant, and the following prelates of Ireland—Price, Archbishop of Cashel, who had formerly been Archdeacon of Bedell's Diocese of Kilmore. This prelate indeed undertook the cause with zeal, appointed the Psalms and common prayer to be read in his Cathedral, maintained many Irish Clergymen to preach to the people in their native dialect, and strenuously advocated the cause. "Our good Archbishop," says Sall, "has continual battles with them upon this subject;" his success was therefore considerable, as it is thus recorded by Bishop Jones.—"He hath already gathered the comfortable fruits of his godly labours, drawing in, and confirming many of the nation firm in the faith; the number also of such is increasing." Dopping, Bishop of Meath, was another; he wrote thus to Mr. Boyle, in allusion to the zealous efforts of Provost Marsh. "That which gives me the greatest hopes of success in this is, our good Provost's care and zeal in training up the present youth in the College, in reading the Irish, which, from the books from you, now in

their hands, is much forwarded. This may be a seed-plot for the Church." The Bishops Wettenhall of Kilmore, Moreton of Kildare, and Crow of Cloyne, also favored the exertions of Mr. Boyle.

But partly from the turbulence of these times, and chiefly from the general indifference that existed on the subject, the circulation of the Irish Bible, and the employment of the Irish tongue for the purposes of instruction, were still but very little thought of; and, after the death of Boyle, which took place in 1691, they were both of them generally neglected, until about the year 1710, when some attention was again paid to the subject. The Convocations of 1703, 1709, and 1711, and the House of Commons in 1710, passed resolutions, which, if properly followed up, must have produced much good effect.

By an order of the lower house of Convocation A.D. 1709, it was agreed, "That the Holy Bible and Liturgy of the church be printed in the Irish language, in the English character; that some person be appointed to prepare a short exposition of the Church Catechism, particularly suited for the instruction of the Popish recusants, and that the same be printed in Irish and English; that fit persons be provided and encouraged to preach, catechize, and perform divine service in the Irish tongue:"—Then follow proposals relating to the providing for all these matters, among which is an application to Parliament, for means to defray the charges;

and another to her Majesty, for letters patent creating a corporation to manage the business.

The University had also, at the time, many among its successive Provosts and Fellows who encouraged the Irish lecture, and patronized the publication of the Bible. Dr. Hall, the Vice-Provost, supported at his own charge, a private teacher of the language; and, under the patronage of Archbishop King, the visitor, a professor was publicly employed; while there still existed a small allowance for native scholars. Some of the Bishops,—as the Primate, and Dr. Hickman of Derry,—appointed Irish missionaries in their sees, who were paid by subscription, and laboured with remarkable success; others countenanced the object in various ways. Dr. Wettenhall, Bishop of Kilmore, and several of the clergy and gentry of Ireland, by the advice of the Hon. Francis Annesley, petitioned the Lord Lieutenant, for the printing of the New Testament &c, "in the Irish character and tongue; in order to which, the only set of characters now in Britain is bought already;" and the design was approved by the government—the types had been purchased for the purpose, by one of the subscribers, a clergyman. Their memorial, amongst other things, states the following important truth—"that the natives, where trial has been made, have expressed great satisfaction, upon having divine service performed in their own tongue." It was presented to the Duke of Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant, who was at the time in London; received by him

favorably, and referred to the consideration of the Prelates—a petition of a similar nature was likewise laid before Queen Anne, which was also graciously received.

Above all, one zealous individual, the Rev. John Richardson, D.D. Rector of Annah or Belturbet, exerted himself greatly in endeavoring to procure subscriptions for printing the Bible, and other books. By means of these, and with the assistance of the Christian Knowledge Society, he was enabled to do much. He published "A Short History of the attempts to convert the Papists of Ireland to the established Religion," in 1712; concerning which Bishop Nicholson remarks, in his Historical Library, that to it "a very great supplement might be added, by recounting the excellent services done, in that way, by the worthy author himself; who, about the same time that he sent abroad this little treatise, published also, in the Irish language and character, sermons on the principal points of Religion by Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Beveridge, &c; the Church Catechism, with Mr. Lewis's scriptural proofs; and his own correct translation of our Liturgy,"—this last was an edition of 6000 copies. Dr. Richardson was encouraged by the Duke of Ormonde, several learned persons in the English Universities, the British Lord Chief Justice Parker, and by the generality of the English Bishops, who at once saw, that "the likeliest method of converting our popish natives was, by proposing to them the saving truths of religion in their own tongue,

that *being the only tongue understood by some, and most acceptable to all.*" The Irish Primate, Dr. Lindsay, also, and Drs. Godwin and Ashe, Bishops of Down and of Clogher, should be added to the list of his patrons. But his principal friend in this important business was the excellent Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin. This prelate, when Bishop of Derry, had sent forth, among the settlers from the Highlands in the north of Ireland, clergymen who could minister among them in their native language; through whose means numbers had been drawn back from attending the services of the Roman Catholic churches, to which they had been compelled, rather than be left without any form of religion at all. He therefore warmly patronized the use of the Irish tongue for the conversion of the natives of this island; and it was his influence, chiefly, that instigated the Convocation and the University, to make the exertions already mentioned. There is a passage in a letter from that truly good man to Dean Swift, from which it may be implied, that this eminent individual also coincided with the Archbishop in his views. Alluding to the weak attempts that were being made to convert the Irish to Protestantism, the Archbishop observes—that "others would have them come in, but can't approve of the methods proposed, which are—to preach to them in their own language, and have the services in Irish as our canons require; so that, between them, I am afraid that little will be done." This prelate disapproved of many of the proceed-

ings of the Parliament, and of the Convocation, and entered a protest against them; first, because they attributed every kind of vice to the people of Ireland; and, secondly, "because they did not assign the true cause for their continuing in their errors; which was, that no care was taken to preach to them in their native language, or to translate the service into Irish." He greatly befriended Dr. Richardson's project; and finding, that although so rational, it was likely to fail from want of sufficient patronage, he came to this remarkable conclusion—"It is plain to me, by the methods that have been taken since the Reformation, and which are yet pursued, both by the civil and ecclesiastical rulers, that there never was, nor is, any design that all should be Protestants." Indeed the Irish portion of this work was not merely received with great general indifference, but opposed with every effort of obloquy, and active malice. The Provost Marsh had some few years before, in a letter to Mr. Boyle, in which he states that "the Lord Lieutenant had promised assistance and encouragement," stated likewise, that his Excellency "was surprised" at what was related to him, "of the discouragements, and even threats, that I have had on this account;"—and now Archbishop King, in another of his letters to Swift, when writing "of the consideration of proper methods to convert the natives," expresses himself thus,—"*against which some have set themselves with all their might.*"— In consequence of all this indifference and opposition,

that which was proposed by the Lower House of Convocation was not adopted by the Higher House,—"partly," as the Bishop of Down says,* "for want of time; and partly, as it should seem, for want of zealous affection to the undertaking:"—but it would appear, that the former sprung entirely from the latter cause. "I brought in," says Dr. King, "a paper about residence, but there was no time to consider it, nor that which related to the means of converting Papists; I did not perceive any zeal that way." From want of zeal, also, the measures proposed were too late for the House of Commons; thus all fell to the ground. We are not to attribute the failure to the insufficiency of Dr. Richardson, but rather to other causes. The remarks of the Archbishop upon the subject are most just—"If the Bishops of Ireland had heartily and manfully come to the work, and the government had given it countenance, certain methods might in my opinion have been taken, that, with due encouragement from the Parliament, would have had great effect towards the conversion of the natives, and making them good Protestants, and sincere in the English interest. But what success it may have in the hands of a private man, without such evident encouragement, nay, under the manifest disapprobation of most of those who are able to give it life, I believe it will not be difficult to guess." Unfortunately, as in the case of Bedell and of Boyle, the work depended too much on one or two individuals,

* Vol. II. p. 229.

as main-springs to its movements; and when these were removed, there remained no impulse of national spirit, patriotic feeling, philosophical intelligence, or religious zeal, to continue its action; its progress, therefore, soon became retarded, and finally ceased. The church of Christ is ever destined to be militant on earth, and the great truths of the gospel of peace are always compelled to prevail by spiritual aggression and conflict; but nowhere more than in Ireland, and in the instance of the Irish Bible. Yet are we not from this circumstance,—this watchful, unceasing, active jealousy of the arch-enemy of truth—fully warranted in hoping, nay compelled to expect, that this despised and persecuted language is destined to be the channel of great future blessings to this country? The instantaneous effect of every attempt to weaken or destroy it was to give it hidden power; the certain result of every jealous effort to annihilate that power, was to increase its internal vigor; the grasp of British domination was never so Herculean as to raise it above the reviving influences of its native soil, and thus to stifle it altogether. On the contrary, it gathered strength from every prostration; and stands now up a living witness, that the ways of God are not as our ways; and that he is ever watchful to overrule folly and evil, to the promotion of his own wise and beneficent purposes. That version of his word, in this vilified tongue, which from the first was assailed by violence and by artifice—its translators falsely calumniated; its object opposed as impolitic; its

publication resisted as illegal; its friends threatened and ridiculed; its circulation impeded by bigotry, or checked by indifference; its revival delayed by prejudice, and impugned by clamor—that version has already accomplished unforeseen and important results; and promises to be a more efficient instrument in propagating the gospel of Christ, than the same word promulgated in any other of the European tongues.

The sequel of Mr. Richardson's effort is detailed by the Bishop of Down*—After meeting with great opposition, not to say oppression, instead of either thanks or assistance; and suffering "the loss of several hundred pounds, expended in printing the Common Prayer Book in Irish, and other necessary charges in that undertaking;"† after having, "at an advanced age, been obliged to forego a chaplaincy to a regiment, because he was too poor to make the present usually given to the Colonel, on such occasions, for his consent; Boulter obtained for him, in 1730, the Deanery of Kilmacduagh, worth then about £120 or £140 a year." The same page of history presents to us the true reason for the fact, that, during the remainder of the eighteenth century, we can discover but two instances within the pale of the establishment, of any persons of influence taking notice of, and recommending publicly, the instrumentality of the Irish language. Just then a petition was presented to King George I, which was graciously received by his Majesty; and, in

* Hist. of Church of Ireland. Vol. 2. p. 520.
† So stated in the letters of Primate Boulter.

consequence thereof, a chartered institution was established, which was named the "Incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland." "This Society," says the Bishop, "seems to have absorbed what little interest may have remained in the country, for the attempt to convert the popish natives of Ireland to the reformed church, by means of their own language."

The petition to Queen Anne already mentioned, and the clause contained in it, which prayed for her Majesty's letters patent, erecting a corporation to manage the business to which it referred, appears to have laid the foundation of this new system for converting the Irish Romanists; it was afterwards chiefly patronized and promoted by Primate Boulter. This prelate was entirely a politician; appointed solely with the view of promoting the English interest in Ireland, and extremely jealous of every thing Hibernian. It is a redeeming point in his conduct, that he acted kindly towards the ill-treated Dr. Richardson; but, in every thing else, he laboured to bring both the State and the Church to the adoption of that plan, which had already caused all efforts at introducing a reformation into Ireland so entirely to fail. Under his advice the prejudices of the people were despised, their requirements quite neglected; the will—the caprice even, of the English dominancy solely consulted. He was either a shallow observer of history, or one of those reckless persons, that put aside its important lessons as merely ephemeral annals. But he has been thus far useful—he has enabled posterity to

possess, in the failure of his project of the charter-schools, a second recorded instance of the folly of legislating, in matters connected with education or religion, without consulting the openings and leadings of God's providence and grace, and depending solely on the proud reasonings and calculations of mere worldly men. 'Twas thus the Jews of old despised the humbler ministers of Theocracy; and preferred the government of a King, who was more an object of sense, and less of faith.

The two instances* alluded to are the following —the first was of Dr. Samuel Madden, a celebrated and influential philanthropist; who, in A. D. 1738, warmly recommended the employing of "a body of itinerant clergy to preach to the natives in Irish." The other was Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, who, besides the shrewd question already extracted from his querist, recommends the same measure as that of Dr. Madden; and even insinuates, that in defect of able Missionaries, "persons conversant in low life, and speaking the Irish language, if well instructed in the first principles of religion, though for the rest on a level with the parish-clerks, or the schoolmasters of charity-schools, should be sent among the people."

Early in the present century a considerable sensation was created in the public mind, on the subject of employing the Irish language as a medium

* The remarkable success attending the preaching of the Methodist missionaries of Mr. John Wesley, and other facts, might be added to illustrate the subject; but it is feared that this chapter is too much encumbered with detail already.

of spiritual instruction. It would be quite foreign to this short biographical sketch, (if we may so call it), of Bedell's Irish Bible, were we to consider this subject in its full extent; it must therefore be confined to that book, its several editions, and their circulation; slightly alluding to the good accomplished by it already, and its fair prospect of further success. And here we shall have a full opportunity of applying and appreciating the principles which have already been so much enforced; we shall perceive it to be fully evidenced that, as the Irish in general are a people naturally religious, they are not only capable of being exalted to a state of the purest belief and devotion, but are the most apt subjects for an attempt to emancipate their minds, by giving them the truth which will make them free indeed. It will also appear that, since they are now strong in their dislike to the English name, and in their affection for their old religion and ancient language, we cannot expect that emancipation to be fully accomplished, unless we take to our aid the native tongue; and we shall see that, while doing so we may, from the success of many and well-tried experiments, have full confidence, that Ireland thus managed may become a great and a happy nation, flourishing in intelligence and prosperity.

After some previous and unconnected efforts, made within the last 30 years, by excellent men impressed with the importance of these ends, a society was formed, the plan of which was to unite such efforts, and to direct them to one simple object. This insti-

tution, founded in 1818, was denominated, "The Society for promoting the education of the native Irish, through the medium of their own language." At its commencement it committed some slight errors—its very name was a mistake, for, instruction in a confined branch, not education in general, was its object; the latter, as a national system, the founders of the Society well knew, should be limited to the use of the English tongue; and their sole intention was, to teach the people to read their native language, and having done so, to circulate among them the Scriptures in it. Another error was the preferring, at first, the use of the Roman to the Irish letter. Forgetting that they had to deal even more with the feelings, than with the understandings, of the people, the originators of the plan expected to succeed better, by endeavouring thus to induce them to commence an acquaintance at least with English print: but, in truth, they raised up a prejudice against themselves at the very threshold; for the Irish generally attach the same veneration to the character, that they do to the language, and frequently will not much respect the latter, when presented in what they regard as a Saxon* dress.

In following this plan many other benevolent institutions† assisted, and Irish Scriptures

* Much attention should be paid to national predilections so powerful as these—a peasant who would not accept of the Irish Testament in the Roman letter, on being presented it in the native character, received it gladly, and exclaimed—"This is indeed our own Bible, root and branch."

† I confine my notice to published editions of the Scriptures, in the native tongue and character.

were printed by several of them, in the proper character. The British and Foreign Bible Society commenced with a stereotyped 12mo. edition of the New Testament, in A.D. 1818; and published an 8vo. Bible, in A.D. 1827. The Christian Knowledge Society edited a New Testament with marginal references; and the Hibernian Bible Society completed in 1829, a 12mo. Bible in minion type, for pocket use, the plates of which are stereotyped. This last was undertaken at the request of the Irish Society; but so little impression had been as yet made upon the public mind on this subject, that it became necessary to procure a body of testimony, from experienced individuals in the remote parts of the country, touching the probable usefulness, indeed the necessity, of the measure; and to convince even the Committee of the Bible Society, that the anxious demand for the publication was not, as it was industriously represented, an "idle clamor." But this proved to be a most fortunate circumstance:—the answers were unanimously favorable; one individual, among the most observing and experienced, the late Rev. Peter Roe, wrote thus from the city of Kilkenny, the centre of Romanism—"I would at this moment prefer the knowledge of the Irish language, so as to be able to preach it, to all other languages." The Archbishop of Tuam, and all his clergy of Connaught, transmitted an urgent memorial; and the force of the current swept all opposition to publication entirely away. Yet, as respectable individuals, deceived by the misrepre-

sentations of interested persons, were still induced to object to the mode of accomplishing it; and especially alleged, as it had been formerly in the case of Mr. King, that the editors were incompetent to the task; it is proper that it should be known, that the Societies followed almost verbally Mr. Boyle's edition of 1681-5, which had received the stamp of public approbation for upwards of 140 years; except in three passages in the New Testament, which they restored to the original rendering of Archbishop Daniel, from which they had been improperly varied by Mr. Boyle's editor; and one, which was altered, upon solemn deliberation, by the Committee.

The successes of the version, in the hands of the Irish Society, have been indeed remarkable. The system of this Society's operation is as simple as its object: Individuals among the natives are readily induced to learn to read their language, by their exceeding attachment to it; through the same powerful influence they are quickly taught themselves, and so readily prompted to the teaching of others, that they require little, if any, pecuniary reward, to engage them in a task so agreeable and so popular; but a small premium is given to them, for each scholar produced by them, at a periodical inspection that is made by an agent of the Society. Instruction is given at no appointed school-house, or regular hour, but where and when the teacher can best accomplish it—in the fields, or in his cabin; puring the evenings, or in the intervals of labor.

The Society provides books—a primer, portions of Scripture, and the Bible. And here one of these peculiar circumstances, that give to this national effort its chief value, occurs. As no printed books, except the Scriptures, can readily be procured in the Irish tongue and character, and as those who have learned to read in it must have something to peruse, the pupils universally have recourse to the Bible, for their gratification first, and then for their instruction. Indeed they are scarce ever known to object to it, and it is in vain that attempts are sometimes made to denounce it as heretical. A very important process is the result of this—The Irishman, surprised to find the contents of his Bible to be so different from what he has been always taught to expect, begins to doubt the truth of that which has been early inculcated into his mind; these doubts are freely discussed, and the Rhemish version frequently brought in to determine them: the result is, that suspicion increases, and thus courage is acquired to open the denounced manual of heresy—the English Protestant translation. It may well be imagined that shrewd persons, who have proceeded in their jealous and anxious inquiries thus far, and are fully awakened to perceive the delusion in which they and their fathers have been for centuries lulled, do many of them receive also the truths of Scripture; and, according to their respective power to encounter the direful persecutions which await them, become its bold or timid champions, and independent of the church of Rome.

Thus has this society been favored in its exertions; and, in many parts of the Irish-speaking country, hundreds of the native peasantry have been brought to this state. An instance or two must here suffice.

In the month of December 1825, a number of the masters and scholars in the district of King's Court, convinced that the intentions of the Society were solely to instruct them for their good, entered into a series of resolutions, to which, in a short time, 375 signatures of persons, all Roman Catholics, were voluntarily affixed. We shall extract from them, as follows:—

"We, the Roman Catholic Masters and Scholars under the Irish Society, whose names, with our respective residences, parishes, and post-towns, are hereunto annexed, desire to express, on behalf of ourselves and upwards of FIVE THOUSAND of our adult fellow-brethren, who in this district alone are in connexion with the Irish Society, our humble, but conscientious and heart-felt sentiments, with respect to this invaluable Institution, and our reading of the Scriptures in our venerated and beloved tongue.

"1st. Resolved—That, believing the Sacred Scriptures to be the source of all spiritual knowledge, and the proper basis of all moral instruction, we consider that the want of them in our native language, has been to us and our forefathers, for a long period, the greatest evil; and that the Irish Society, by their Schools, and providing for us the Scriptures in the language we best understand,

have given to us an inestimable gift, and to Ireland the noblest boon she ever before received.

"5th. Resolved—That the Roman Catholic Church, of which we are members, hath never, by her councils nor her spiritual head, denied the Scriptures to those who read them with reverence and sincerity; that, on the contrary we find, on the best authority, that several of our Popes have went further than even the Bible Society, to induce the reading of God's word, not only by recommending it, but also by holding out inducements for doing it. That, when such pious practices were so highly recommended by the spiritual heads of our Church, as acceptable to our Creator, they cannot now be displeasing to him; and that, finally, we consider that the reading of the Holy Scriptures is our right as men, our duty as Christians, and our privilege as Roman Catholics."

These Resolutions were presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, holden publicly at the Rotunda in Dublin, on the 17th day of March 1826, by a deputation from the subscribers. *

This spirit of Scriptural emancipation has since rapidly increased in this neighbourhood. Another document, a roll containing a declaration, signed by 3221 Roman Catholic masters and scholars of the Irish Society, from the five counties around King's Court, was publicly presented at the Society's

* Their authenticity has been unblushingly denied, but they are now matter of record; as they were produced, and relied on, as undoubtedly genuine, on the late inquiry into Education in Ireland, before a Committee of the House of Lords.

annual meeting, on the 17th of March, 1832. It was principally intended to express the discontent of the people, at the removing of the Scriptures from the national schools; and it decidedly contradicts the assumption, by which the establishment of these was defended, "—that Education Societies in Ireland, by enforcing the reading of the Scriptures in their Schools, have defeated their object." It contains the following remarkable sentence—

"We can assure the Committee of the Irish Society—we can assure his Majesty's Government—that the Irish peasantry are most anxious for Scriptural knowledge for themselves and their children; there are thousands of Roman Catholics, whose cry can never reach the ears of the British Senate—who *dare not breathe a word against the tyranny that oppresses them*—who, from sincere love for Scriptural Education, in defiance of every species of hostility, continue to send their children to Bible Schools."

A further expression of similar feeling was made public at the annual meeting of 1840; it was subscribed by 6026 Romanists. Many individuals in this district have joined in Communion with the members of the established Church, having been previously instructed by its ministers; and several of these have since become distinguished by personal piety and missionary usefulness.

It is painful to state that persecutions invariably, and martyrdoms not a few, have followed from all this; but, on the other hand, there have been great

moral results,—symptoms of a regeneration, which the murderer and the incendiary will never be enabled to prevent.*

Another instance may be more briefly detailed, but it is yet more remarkable. In the county of Kerry there has long been a preparation for the events that have lately occurred there—Irish schools have been in operation, agents active, and the Bible circulating, for many years, without any apparent result of great importance; but at length, within the last few years, the smouldering embers have burst into flame. Vast numbers in that remote county are daily perusers of the sacred volume, in despite of the denunciations of their priests; and many have rejected their authority, having been awakened to a view of the errors of the Church of Rome: while, among these, several have embraced the simple truth of the Scriptures, and are con-

* The following short summary of these is principally borrowed from a document put forth, A.D. 1838.—

1. Forty thousand persons, at the least, taught to read the Irish Scriptures in this district; and more than double that number brought within its constant hearing in the cabin.

2. English Schools rendered popular—Lending Libraries of English works, filled with the most orthodox and spiritual instruction, established—English Bibles highly prized for the references—Books of the Liturgy in Irish, and even in the English, sought for by many.

3. Evening meetings frequently holden, for the sole purpose of perusing the Scriptures, and comparing the different versions. Protestant clergymen are sometimes requested to attend them, that they may converse and pray with, and instruct, the people; and they are always welcome.

4. A surprising degree of scriptural knowledge is thus obtained by individuals, and spread among the people; the results of order and quiet are notorious, and kind feelings have in many cases supplanted the bitterest aversions. A fund for the widows of such as suffer martyrdom in the cause, and one for mutual protection, have been established.

sistent followers of their precepts. This remarkable result began to develope itself in 1836 ; the operations of the Society, conducted by the intelligent and indefatigable minister of Dingle, commenced then to produce effects, which have been rapidly progressive towards establishing in it a steady protestant reformation in religion. In that parish, where Irish is universally spoken, and many are utterly ignorant of English ; where but a few years ago scarce a protestant resided, and bitter and bigoted opposition was made to every attempt to enlighten the population ; the number of converts, which is continually increasing, is about 250 at Dingle, and 200 at Ventry. In both these places large school-houses have been built, which are well attended by children and many adults. In Ventry the Committee of the Irish Society has provided an Irish Minister, who acts as a curate of the Parish of Dingle—an evangelical clergyman,* born in the parish, himself a convert from the errors of Romanism, and eloquent in the native language. For him a church is being erected, and a residence has been built. In the neighbouring parish of Dunurlin are 65 converts ; and a church, and school and parsonage-houses, are in progress of being built ; in that of Dunquin the curate of Ventry, at the earnest entreaty of the converts, 110 in number, celebrates divine service in Irish on every Sunday ; and in Kilmelchedar, another

* The Rev. Thomas Moriarty.

adjacent parish, there are about 45 converts. The total number of these, in these four parishes, is about 700; and this spirit, thus put into motion, is extending through almost every part of this beautiful county, inhabited by a most intelligent race. In Cork also a similar spirit has been excited; so that, were the inquiries of the people responded to by an evangelical ministry in the native tongue, results the most important might reasonably be expected throughout South Munster. Facts such as these speak, with irresistible eloquence, to recommend the projects of Bedell, and the labours of his followers; they evidence remarkably his wisdom and his foresight, at this distance of two centuries from the period of his laying the foundation-stone of this great work. During the last two years three movements have been simultaneously made, within the pale of the established church, to advance its progress. The first is the foundation of an Irish Professorship in the University of Dublin; the second, the projecting of an Irish College, for the education of a better class of natives in the ancient language, with the intention of preparing them for the ministry—The guardians of this institution have commenced well, by expending the first fruits of their funds, to a large amount, in establishing Irish Scholarships in the University. In doing this they have wisely seconded the wishes of the founders of the Professorship, put forth in their prospectus; and it is therefore to be hoped, that in all their future operations they will continue

to attend to the spiritual demands of the country, and avail themselves of the suggestions of those who have most knowledge of the mere Irish people —The third and most important practical movement is that which has been recently made by the managers of the Irish Society. This institution had been limited, by its original rules, to the simple objects of instructing in the native language, and affording the Holy Scriptures and book of Common Prayer; but its unexampled successes in these beginnings, and their important results, have called upon the members to enlarge their field of operation, so as to embrace the advancement of instruction, by every means consistent with the doctrines and discipline of the United Church of the empire.* Thus, at length, has this institution, which has always been so strictly of that church, that none but its members can be of the Committee, stepped forward to take its proper station; and prepared itself to develope, fully and effectually, that system which originated in the mind of Bedell—the instruction of the native peasantry, in a manner at once intelligible and affectionate, with the view of

* Although the same individuals have hitherto directed the operations of the Irish Society, the establishment of the Professorship, the sending forth of many Scripture Readers, &c. these things did not emanate from any one body. The Committee of the Irish Society is now empowered to embrace every object, and it has already agreed to institute an exhibition in the University. The controul which it formerly exercised, in the appointment of Scripture Readers, is now more direct; while the operations of these persons are still regulated in official details, and the amount of their expences provided, by the agency of the Ladies' Association, under the advice of the Committee—It should be observed, that the new college alluded to has no connection whatsoever with the Irish Society.

rescuing them from the errors of Romanism, and transplanting them into the fold of our evangelical and orthodox church. In its stripling efforts, the Irish Society has already mortally wounded the giant champion of the enemy: may it now proceed in its course, in the faith of David; avoiding that temptation, which led him to forget his dependence on the arm of his God, and to rely upon the multitude of his Host. For "who is sufficient for these things?"—Assuredly none other but the Lord: and this great truth, to which the pages of this memoir so amply testify, is still further established by some peculiar facts, the notice of which it would be unpardonable to omit; but which are added in an appendix, lest the course of this narrative should be unreasonably retarded, by recording them in this place.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST DAYS OF BISHOP BEDELL'S LIFE, TO HIS IMPRISONMENT.

THE History of Ireland no where presents a more complete and instructive illustration of the mistaken policy which the British government had, for many centuries, exercised towards that nation, than it does in the story of the rebellion of 1641, as it was connected with the events of Bishop Bedell's life at its close. In the midst of the most ungovernable fury, the most barbarous massacre, the most ruthless revenge, which, as a storm or a flood, rushed over the entire of the country, the mansion and the person of this beloved and venerated prelate remained for a long time, like the native towers, unaffected by the hurricane; and the insurgents of his diocese, even while hurried on by the wildest excitement, spared them both. That which they had been accustomed to associate with feelings both of affection, and of reverence, they could not recklessly destroy; and the insurrection, black and bloody as it was, gave occasion to the native Irish to exhibit, in his case, those sentiments of veneration and of gratitude, to which they are constitutionally inclined, and which greatly contrasted with the

atrocities that marked their general conduct when uninfluenced and unchecked by any such feelings. To do justice to the Irish people, and in answer to those who deny them these qualities, it must be remembered, that they are reciprocal; and we might as reasonably expect the reflection of a mirror, without an original object to produce it, as gratitude and veneration to discover themselves in the hearts of those, who have never been treated with benevolence and condescending sympathy. Both of these are relative feelings, which cannot exist without an antecedent, or be manifested where they are not due; and, had there been many more such individuals as Bedell, among the English who were resident at that period in Ireland, there would doubtless have been many more similar exceptions to the general havoc and extirpation which disgraced that barbarous outbreak.

It is surely of the greatest importance that the national character of a population, so immense as that of Ireland, should be well understood; and yet there is none that, for a long period of time, has been so much misconceived, especially in respect to the traits of character now alluded to. It is remarkable that the natives of that country, although they are so very easily excited to turbulence, are not in the least degree influenced to it by a democratic and disloyal spirit; they have never exhibited the slightest tendency to it in any part of their history, but quite the reverse; all their impulses are of an aristocratic nature,—

veneration for religion, reverence for antiquity and establishment, respect for family, rank, station: they have no regard for upstarts, and readily condescend to 'the old sort,' as they call them. In the rebellion of 1641, and in every preceding and subsequent insurrection, they proceeded not at all upon the levelling principle; but yielded, with slavish submission, to the authority of their instigators and their leaders, whose professed object at all times was, the restoration of ancient dynasties; and followed that in the commission of every possible outrage, except only in such cases as that of Bishop Bedell, where the same principle was put into powerful action the contrary way. If, within these few years, this ingredient in the Irish character has not been so manifest to us as it was to our parents in the last century, and actions are daily being committed by the peasantry which appear to denote its absence; it is because the ignorant and deluded Roman Catholics have again become subjected to such irresistible influences, as have impelled them, on every occasion connected with politics or with education, to act against some of the tendencies of their natures, and the wishes of their unbiassed minds. Consistent to the principle, they bend with it where its pressure is most strong; and the weaker ties of clanlike adherence are easily broken, by the powerful interference of a priesthood, clothed in those imposing vestments in which antiquity has veiled their religion. Similar assertions might with truth be made of the natural

affections of the kind-hearted Irishman; they are all turned from their proper channel at their source, or polluted in their stream, by the arts of the same watchful and noxious adulterators of their best propensities.* The remedy would seem to be sufficiently obvious—Scriptural education, and a patient perseverance in well-doing on the part of their superiors, would soon rouse the Irishman, enable him to cast off the incubus which now oppresses him, and accomplish his real emancipation. And there is nothing to be apprehended from the result; the friends of order need not be alarmed; those who dread an influx of infidelity have no reason to be afraid; we have security in the national character, that the Irishman will not be readily led to this, especially if he be instructed through the Bible; while the aristocratic bias of his feelings will make his enjoyment of real political liberty to be peaceful and loyal, and all his efforts to be conservative, in the just and unabused mean-

* I may probably be considered as unreasonably partial to the Irish people, in attributing to them this trait of gratitude, as a *general* one of the national character; but, if it be truly so, it is of consequence that it should be understood and acknowledged, by all who anxiously desire the amelioration of the native peasantry. By some it has been even asserted, that there is no term in the Irish language to express this generous sentiment; but this, were it true, would tend to prove too much—if admitted in its full force, it would demonstrate an universal absence of it from the Irishman's heart, which none will contend for. No doubt that many instances occur in which its obligations appear to be forgotten by them. Most of these, however, are amenable to the test of this question;—the return expected, is it not that of a reaping where nothing has been sown?—while many others are to be attributed to the paramount and irresistible influences of that spiritual despotism, by which free agency is denied to the feelings and intelligence of the Romanist peasantry of Ireland.

ing of the word—the preserving of a proper balance in every part of our invaluable constitution.

In representing the character of the native Irish we are compelled, by the love of truth, thus to do it justice; and, while detailing the excesses of 1641, the same truth requires of us to add this further alleviation of the peasant's guilt—that, as much of the insurrection had its origin in misrule, so a great part of it is to be attributed to this, that almost nothing had ever been attempted to remove his ignorance, or to disenchant his delusion; it cannot be alleged that he sinned against true knowledge, which had never been afforded him, or just lights, which had always been withholden from him.* Although, however,

* The remarks of Mr. Clogy upon this subject, expressive, it must be presumed, of the sentiments of Bishop Bedell respecting it, are exceedingly striking and just; speaking of England he says—"Neither did she strengthen the heart or hand of the poor and needy Irish, by using any means for their reduction from the error of their way, and conversion to Jesus Christ; but rather indulging them, by tolerations in their idolatries, barbarities, and filthiness, to their destruction, which proved ours at last. When every parish was allowed a popish priest, every diocese a titular bishop, and every city and county, colleges, and convents of Jesuits and friars, and of all orders of Roman colonies; as if they had been kept up of set purpose to plant England and Scotland with such strange slips, when time and opportunity should serve them. And, though I be no prophet or prophet's son, I have too much reason to believe, that about that fatal period of the expiring of forty years, (which is their constant Irish jubilee, wherein they kill and take possession, till by a new conquest they are dispossessed,) after the date of 41, they will be as ready and every way fitted to rebel and destroy all our labours, colonies, and people, as ever they were; unless there be more effectual course taken, by our English policy, to prevent it, than hitherto hath been made apparent to the world—all our former victories over them being but like Hercules, his fighting with the monster Hydra, who, when he did cut off one head, two did spring up in the place of it. None of our English victories, that our chronicles swell with, have ever yet diminished our Irish and popish enemies, or made them our friends to this day, any more than when the Lord Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow, invaded Ireland, An. 1169." Mr. Clogy proceeds with these remarkable words:

a considerable portion of the awful responsibility must be thrown upon those, whose duty it was to have removed the temptation, and prevented the crime; and still more must rest upon the heads of the selfish and reckless instigators to its commission; sufficient remains to fix a deep stain of guilt upon this land; and fully to exemplify the truth of the Psalmist's remark, that "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

But, whatever were the crimes of the people, their conduct to Bishop Bedell affords a most instructive parenthesis in the history of their insurrection; and, as a detail of that part of it forms the only proper subject for this memoir, I shall confine to it the narrative of particular facts: alluding however, shortly, to the characters of the several parties engaged in the great rebellion, and the causes of its breaking forth, as far as will be necessary towards the proper understanding of the events which it is my province to record.

There were probably among the leaders of the people some few individuals, who were urged to undertake the part they performed, by the spirit of a William Tell, or of a Washington. It is often

"The late usurper Oliver Cromwell transplanted the heads of the rebels into the province of Connaught, for a little while, whence they have swarmed and issued forth since into all parts of the kingdom; but, though that was more than all the lawful princes that were before him ever did, yet even then, when in their proud swelling words they would advance Christ's kingdom to the gates of Rome, they never attempted the sending of the gospel unto them translated into their own language, or the setting up of any schools amongst them for the education of their children, to translate them from darkness to light."

impossible to form a right judgment of the motives of persons so circumstanced as they were ; because history too frequently stamps upon their memory, a mark of approbation, or of reproach, according to their success, or the reverse—and this perhaps wisely, for the only thing that might excuse to the world the experiment of rebellion, is a result which evidences an universal feeling, and an adequate cause. But they were in general such bold and bad men, as in every popular commotion are ever ready to be foremost, with selfish purposes in their hearts, and captivating principles upon their lips. There were a few influential individuals, who, against their better will, were hurried into the vortex, by venturing too much within the current that hastened to form it—persons chiefly who had married among the natives ; but the great mass of the leaders consisted of native Irish, to whom the name of the English was odious, and their religion an object of execration. The great instigators of the tumult, the most powerful in mischief, were the wily busy priesthood, and the native aristocracy, anxious to recover their lost station and domains ; and, we must add to them some among the "degenerate English," as they were called, who had not in general joined in any former rebellion, but in this were "as merciless enemies as any the English found."

The characters of that portion of the inhabitants of Ireland which formed the passive object of the great rebellion, were somewhat more anomalous

than those of the insurgents. They were, a very few of the native Irish, either attached by strong links of interest, or of prudence, to the dominant government, or by bonds of affection to individuals of the English; the protestant clergy, the gentry, tenants and citizens of the same persuasion, and the government. The first of these were greatly outnumbered by those of English descent, that acted a directly contrary part, and joined with more or less decision, the side of the rebels—if indeed we be justified in calling those English, who, although they bore a British name, were yet at the least half-Irish by descent, and that by the most influential—the female, side; and were entirely so in those sentiments which assume the powerful character of prejudices, when impressed by a mother upon the pliant heart of youth. The protestant clergy were generally a very inefficient, uneducated, and demoralized set of men. We have noticed the expression made use of by a Roman Catholic to Bishop Bedell, that "the King's priests were as bad as the Popish priests;" suffice it to add, that, with almost as much of immorality and bigotry, they were very far inferior to the Roman Catholic priesthood in zealous and steady pursuit of their object—the aggrandizement of a profession, to which alone these could be affectionately connected by earthly ties—and in all those remarkable assistances of discipline and obedience, which have always distinguished the tactics of the Romish church. Among the protestant prelates, there were

doubtless some eminent and excellent persons—Ussher, Bedell, Bramhall, and others—and they were enabled to do much; and, had the interest of religion been confided to none but such, it might have flourished; but by far the greater number of their brethren were worldly and time-serving men. The protestant laity, where the ever-prevailing influence of intermarriage with native Roman Catholics had not made them become Irish and popish in their sentiments, generally lived in a state of ignorance of their own doctrines, of utter indifference towards them, and of bigoted intolerance of those of others. They assumed an offensive superiority over the papists, grounded on the mere circumstance of their being the dominant party; but to which they were by no means entitled from any very superior morality of conduct, through the influences of their purer and scriptural creed. The number of those, indeed, whose conduct was affected by its principles was apparently small, and their characters were not so prominent as to be the subject of History, save only in a very few and striking instances; such as that of the Bishop of Kilmore, and some of his immediate connexions. The government of the country was of the worst possible description; and, after that the celebrated Strafford was recalled, weak, divided, uncertain, and destitute alike of knowledge, principle, or means. Its general object was to carry protestant ascendancy in church and state with a high hand, and to be intolerant to the papists in both. Upon

the execution of this unfortunate nobleman, and the sudden death of his deputy, Christopher Wandesford, the King had nominated the Earl of Leicester, descended from Ireland's favorite deputy, Sir H. Sydney, to the Lieutenancy of the Kingdom; but, as the patent was delayed, the administration continued in the hands of Sir W. Parsons and Sir John Borlase, who had been appointed Lords Justices in 1640; persons who, whatever were their motives, were equally deficient in vigilance and affection to the King; and manifested a determination to be as incredulous of the danger, and inactive in meeting it, as they could with any degree of safety to themselves. "They," says Dr. Leland, "who looked more nearly into their characters and principles, conceived, and not without reason, that they by no means wished to crush the rebellion in its beginnings; but were secretly desirous that the madness of the Irish might take its free course, so as to gratify their hopes of gain, by new and extensive forfeitures. Nor did the deeper politicians scruple to insinuate, that these cold and reserved governors acted by directions from the reigning faction in England."* It was not until matters had come to the worst, and some time after that our excellent Bishop had found his rest where "the wicked cease from troubling," that these noxious rulers were removed; and the reins of the government transferred into the hands of one of the

* Leland's Ireland, Vol. III. p. 107 and 132.

greatest and most virtuous men that Ireland had ever given birth to—the loyal and patriotic James, Earl, and ultimately Duke, of Ormonde.

Whatever were the characters of the several classes that constituted the two parties in detail, it is notorious, that they and their respective principles might be referred to two great and ever-conflicting interests, the protestant and mere English, and the popish and native Irish; which, like contending physical forces, pressed against each other with incessant action and reaction. A small third border-party, it is true, existed between these two—the old English settlers; who, notwithstanding that Tyrone in the pride of victory declared, that "if any of them should be suffered to remain in Ireland, they were to become menial servants to the Irish, the only rightful inheritors of the land,"* were yet not estranged from their Hibernian connections; with which they were bound by an unity of marriage, manners and religion, and even of language and of grievances. Many of these, as has been stated already, joined the rebel standard; some others that of the government. This party, like almost all those in history that have been similarly circumstanced, while it endured the

* Mr. Clogy, in his Narrative, details some striking facts illustrative of the truth of this determination in the minds of the natives; especially one of the Laird of Forsythe, who emigrated from Scotland on account of his religion, and had settled near *Kilmore*; yet were he, and others who came with him, "turned out of all, they their wives and children, for all their poperty; the Irish hatred being greater against the English nation than against their religion." See also Lel. v. iii. p. 87.

sufferings of both the extreme parties, was certain not to possess any ascendancy in the event ; on the contrary, it was threatened with servitude, or extermination, by the one ; and was still more likely to become a prey to the rapacious cry, for forfeiture and proscription, that was made by the other.

The materials for the terrible explosion had long been collecting, by the enemies of the Reformed faith and of the English interest in Ireland, both at home and on the Continent. Vane, the English Secretary, * was directed, sometime before its breaking out, to inform the Lords Justices, that there had passed, from Spain and other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen for England and Ireland ; and some good old soldiers, under the pretext of raising levies for the King of Spain ; and that it was whispered, by the Irish Friars in that kingdom, that a rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, especially in Connaught. Assurances were sent to the conspirators, of arms, money and ammunition, from Cardinal Richelieu the French minister ; and the Pope was ready, as usual, with all his most tremendous spiritual artillery. In Ireland, national enthusiasm was easily fomented by many a busy agitator. Among the principal was Roger Moore, a descendant of the once powerful sept of the O'Moores, princes and proprietors of the territory of Leix, the present Queen's County, who had not only been expelled from their hereditary possessions, but been greatly

* Lel. v. iii. 92.

persecuted, and almost extirpated, in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.

This individual inherited the hatred of his family to the English name, aggravated by the pressure of indigence in his own instance. Besides being cautious and deliberate, he possessed judgment, penetration, and refinement of manners more than his predecessors, and these latter were improved by a long residence on the Continent. In Spain he attached himself particularly to a son of the rebel Earl of Tyrone, who, assuming his father's title, had obtained a regiment, and was much caressed by the Spanish court. Upon the death of this young man, which occurred shortly before the rebellion, Moore addressed himself to Colonel Owen O'Neil, an officer of the Low Countries, who did much afterwards in promoting the cause with the Court of France. He came over to Ireland, with a resolution to make every effort possible to extirpate the English from the country, by appealing to all the feelings of the native Irish; by holding out to them the bright prospects of national independence, family aggrandizement, and individual gain—revenge for former injuries, security from further wrongs—and he met with many a heart ready to respond most warmly, and too promptly, to his suggestions. He gained over many who were well suited to co-operate with him, among whom Lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'Neil were the principal; for they represented the ancient chieftains of Fermanagh, and a large portion of

North Ulster. Just at this period the popish inhabitants, in addition to every ancient grievance and jealousy, were provoked and mortified by the penal statutes of Elizabeth, and impatient of the odious disqualifications imposed on them. Although these, as Dr. Leland observes, "had not been generally enforced in their full rigour, sometimes the insolence of popish ecclesiastics provoked the execution of them; sometimes the terror of them was used as a political engine, to extort concessions from the popish party; and in either case there was pretence sufficient for exciting popular clamour."

We have seen that there was a short period, during which the penal laws were scarcely in operation, on account of a very general conformity to that which they were intended to establish, until the jealousy and apprehensions of Rome were roused; and she issued her excommunications, and thundered her bulls, and poured forth her banditti, and exerted all her temporal and spiritual power, of force and of fraud, to disturb this transient promise of religious unity in this Island. Then first was the existence of the penal laws made use of as an excuse; and they did therefore afterwards greatly contribute, with other causes, to promote the disaffection of the Irish, just previously to the rebellion of 1641. Yet religion itself, though brought in as a powerful accessory, was with very few of those whose station was above that of the ignorant herd, an original motive; and, with most of these, it operated only as a plausible pretence for

insurrection, and an occasion for popular excitement; for the Bishops and Priests of Rome, and their creed, were not only tolerated, but practically enjoyed the fullest exercise of liberty. No doubt their ambitious spirit exhibited its usual buoyancy; but the active leaders did not sympathize near so much in this, as in the expectation held out to them of shaking off the English yoke, and of recovering their ancient independence, and the properties which their ancestors had possessed.

At a fatal conjuncture, when the entire of the populace was ready, as we have seen, blindly to obey the mandate of their Priests, even were that mandate to be massacre; when the Priests, brought up in Spain, came over with an education tempered in the fires of the Inquisition; the blood and flame of the 23rd of October burst forth, and inundated and devastated the land. The time was particularly favourable to the attempt, in many other respects besides those already stated. England was herself embroiled,—Ireland was left without a competent governor,—the King was gone to Scotland, and may be considered as being powerless to do good, while his name was still used to promote evil; and, as a feeling of loyalty might operate upon many, this even was turned to great account. It was rumoured * that the Earl of Ormonde had received private instructions, from the King, to seize the persons of the puritan Lords Justices; that the insurgents had discovered the secret, and that their sole object was

* Lel. v. iii. p. 104.

to be foremost in loyalty, and to snatch the merit of this service from the Earl. A Scotch seal was cut from another commission,* and appended to one, which was said to have been sent from Scotland by Charles, giving warrant for what they were doing. Their manifesto, while it professed an inviolable loyalty to the King, represented the Parliament as not only wresting his prerogative from his hands, but "denouncing utter extirpation against the Catholics of Ireland, encouraging petitions against the papists and protestant prelates of this realm, to root out the one, and depose the other." Complaining of the continual rapacity of the government, its falsehood, fraud and oppression, they declared that they could have no hopes from his majesty; that they had of necessity taken arms in defence of themselves, and the royal prerogatives—that they had seized the strongest forts of the kingdom, to be enabled to serve his majesty, and to secure themselves against the tyrannous resolutions of their enemies; professing that, "they were ready to yield up those places at his majesty's command, when a course should be taken to secure them, *and the Protestants* of the kingdom, his only true and and obedient subjects, against the factious and seditious puritans." But these false men presented a

* Sir Phelim O'Neil, on his trial, explained the means by which his followers were deceived; (Lel. iii. 120.) he declared that, in the castle of Charlemont, he found a patent of Lord Caulfield's, from which he took the great Seal, and affixed it to a forged commission. I know not whether this may not be the instance here alluded to; but the circumstance of the Scottish Seal makes it likely to be another example of such fraud.

double face to the deluded people; and, in the usual spirit of Jesuitism, professed things opposite to their intentions; for the expressions of the Commission which they had forged were not at all consistent, in many material respects, with those of the manifesto. Charles is there made to declare, to his Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, "that, for the preservation of his person, he had long been obliged to take his residence in Scotland; occasioned by the disobedience of the English Parliament, which had deprived him of his royal power and prerogatives, and assumed the government and administration of the realm: that, as these *storms blow aloft,* and are likely to be carried into Ireland by the vehemence of the *Protestant* party, he hath given full power to his Roman Catholic subjects, to assemble and consult, to seize all places of strength, except those of the Scots, and to arrest the goods and persons of *all* English *Protestants* within the kingdom of Ireland."*

The burst of the rebellion was very nearly simultaneous throughout the island. A providential disclosure, made the very night before the great effort was to be attempted, saved the castle of Dublin, and secured a place of rendezvous and security, for those that were so fortunate as to escape to it; but, every-where else, the English and Scotch and Irish Protestants fell into the hands of savages, "whose tender mercies were cruelty; es-

* Lel. iii. 119.—"The title," says Mr. Clogy, "that the rebels stuck to at last was the 'Queen's Catholic army.'"

teeming that they bestowed a grace, when they expelled those to whom they spared life, to meet the severity and destitution of winter and of famine, in a state of utter nakedness."

The insurrection however commenced in Ulster—"The county of Cavan," says Mr. Carte,* "was raised at once, and in a more regular manner than the others. Phelim M'Hugh M'Shane O'Reyly; representative of that county in parliament, was for his parts, activity, and experience, made chieftain of these septs, although his elder brother was living; and, his nephew Mulmore† being high Sheriff, he caused him to make use of the authority of his office, to convene all the country together, and order them to meet in arms. "They seized on Loughoughter and all places of strength, excepting the Castles of Keilagh and Crohan; places built within a mile of each other by two Scottish knights, Sir Francis Hamilton and Sir John Craig, by

* Life of Ormonde. i. 178.

† Mr. Clogy calls him "a desperate young fellow of a small fortune." He says, that "many justices of peace, more than were before, and most if not all the High Sheriffs in Ireland at that time, were Irish Jesuited papists; and the whole *posse comitatus* put into their bloody hands." He adds a melancholy story connected with this Sheriff of Monaghan. "A rich widow had consented to marry him, on condition of his forsaking popery; upon which he made an open confession of the protestant faith in the Cathedral of Kilmore, and was married to her by the Bishop, a few weeks previous to the rebellion. But just before it, he "had driven away all her cattle and forsaken her; and then, having seized upon all she had in the field and in the house, turned her away stript, and her three children that she had by her first husband, without any pity or compassion; and he, and his old Squaw, lived together afterwards, as they had done before; and his poor wife, having got to Dublin in more misery, died of famine with all her children, as thousands did there that had escaped, with the skin of their teeth, from all parts of the kingdom. This dolorous story," he adds, "I mention, because I know all this."

whom they were bravely defended until June 1642; when, for want of provision, they were surrendered on honorable terms, which were faithfully kept by Phelim O'Reyly." "Whether it were owing to this manner of their assembling, which put the common Irish immediately under a regular command, or to the particular humanity of Phelim O'Reyly, it is certain that there were fewer cruelties committed in this, (scarce any being murdered), than in any of the other counties in Ulster." We must attribute much of this to the individual influence of Bedell; the great extent of which is proved by their employing him, as we shall hereafter see, even while their prisoner, to mediate with the government on their behalf, and to prepare for them a petition concerning their grievances. But, whatever was the cause, there is no doubt, that the excesses of the insurrection were not so great in the diocese of Kilmore as elsewhere; at least its violence appears to have been much restrained, on its approach to the residence of the Bishop. We may here follow the interesting account which is given of his fortunes by Bishop Burnet. "It may be easily imagined, how much he was struck with that fearful storm that was breaking on every hand of him, though it did not break in upon himself. There seemed to be a secret guard set about his house; for, though there was nothing but fire, blood and desolation, round about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks. His

house was in no condition to make any resistance; so that it was not any apprehension of the opposition that might be made to them, that bound them up. Great numbers of his neighbours also fled to him for shelter; he received all that came, and shared every thing he had so with them, that all things were common among them. And, now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day; so they spent their time in prayers and fasting, which last was like to be now imposed on them by necessity. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner, that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that overruling power, that stills the raging of the seas, and the tumult of the people. They seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them; and they often said, that "he should be the last Englishman that should be sent out of Ireland."

We must unquestionably ascribe these astonishing influences to HIM, who said, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm;" Psalm cv. 15. but, looking to the human agency and means through which he is pleased always to accomplish his wonderful ends, we cannot but perceive, and must urge it strongly once more, that this extraordinary circumstance of Bedell's preservation, in the midst of the savage havoc that was made

around him, arose from the sensations of respect and of affection, which his measures and his demeanour impressed upon all the people of his neighbourhood. Like the Libyan oasis, he was preserved from the surrounding desolation by the fresh springs of grace which rose up within his own heart; and which, with christian benevolence, he poured forth abundantly, to freshen and to fertilize all around him in the desert where he was placed. Had that desert been similarly favoured in other places, the same effects had doubtless followed; and Ireland would have probably escaped the destructive ravages, which for a long period laid its green fields desolate. Had the British state and the church establishment, in principle and in detail, chosen the course which this prelate, simply and steadily, wisely and benevolently, pursued, priestly fury might have more violently stormed,—some chieftains might have displayed the greater wrath, and the interested and agitating demagogue called in more assistance from foreign powers—the favourable opportunity might have still been taken, and some powerful effort made—but it would have fallen very far short, in extent and degree, in circumstances and in consequences, of the horrible massacre that prevailed; nor would the materials of destruction, ignorance and bigotry, have been so readily prepared and multiplied to their hands, as to have enabled them to spread destruction over the entire of the island.

To proceed in the words of Mr. Clogy, from

whose narrative Bishop Burnet has extracted his account, though with the omission of many facts:

"He was the only Englishman in all the county of Cavan that was permitted to stay under his own roof. There was but little spare room in his castle; and the poor stripped people, that had plenty of earthly accommodations but a little before, were now content to lodge in the outbuildings, the church, or the church-yard, on heaps of straw or hay; and to feed upon boiled wheat, or whatsoever the enemy had left, that could not so suddenly consume so great plenty as was every where to be found.* When Mrs. Moigne, that was his predecessor's widow, a venerable matron, came hither in the habit of the poorest beggar, (where she had lived many years in great state before); and one Mr. Hudson, that was rector of Belturbet, and his wife, stripped of all; he could not look upon them with dry eyes, but brought them all the clothes he had in the world, save what was on his back, and gave it them. This Mr. Hudson is now bishop of Elphin."—"In this retreat they were every day expecting when those swords, which, according to the prophetic phrase, drunk up so much blood, should likewise be satiated with theirs. They did now eat the bread of sorrow, and mingled their cups with their tears. The bishop continued to encourage them to trust in God; and, in order to that, he preached to them the first Lord's day after this

* Mr. Clogy represents the country to have been abundantly supplied with all kinds of provision in this year.

terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the third Psalm, which was penned by David, when there was a general insurrection of the people against him under his unnatural son Absalom; and he applied it all to their condition. He had a doleful assembly before him, an auditory all melting in tears. It requires a soul of an equal elevation to his, to imagine how he raised up their spirits, when he spake to these words—'But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I laid me down and slept; I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me, round about;'—and to the conclusion of the Psalm,—'Salvation belongeth unto the Lord; thy blessing is upon the people.' The next Lord's day, hearing of the scoffings, as well as cruelty of the Irish, he preached on these words in Micah—'Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me; he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God'—By these means, and through the blessing of God upon them, they encouraged themselves in God; and were prepared for the worst that their enemies could do to them."

When the rebels in Cavan were informed, that the Irish had been disappointed in their design upon the castle of Dublin, wherein there was a considerable armoury; that their leaders had been taken; that they had as yet received neither commanders nor arms from Spain, and were therefore without arms, money, or officers—without fleet or foreign support; they began to be discouraged.—they were induced either somewhat to see their error,* or to apprehend their danger; and suddenly took the extraordinary step of applying to Bishop Bedell, to interpose with the Lords Justices on their behalf. This he very willingly undertook to do, chiefly in the hope of procuring "some breathing-time to the poor English, and to those houses that stood out, but were falling within doors under an enemy that was more irresistible than the Irish, for they were much straitened, their provisions failing them." The chief rebels also promised to lay down their arms, and to restore the English to their possessions. This petition is a remarkable document in itself, and tends to establish the truth of many of the remarks which we have made in this chapter. It exhibits the great degree of authority which Bishop Bedell had acquired over the rebels; while it is an additional proof, that the measures of the government toward

* Mr. Clogy asserts, that the rebels had no hopes but in the fatal divisions between the King and the Parliament—"they knew also that 1000 horse and dragoons might have marched through the length and breadth of Ireland without interruption; they having for the most part but clubs and staves, and unfixed arms without powder or match, and no shipping at all."

the nation had been miserably ill-advised. The petition was as follows—

"To the Rt. Hon. the Lords Justices and Council:

"The humble Remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan, of their grievances, common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland.

"Whereas we, his Majestie's loyal subjects of his Highness' Kingdom of Ireland, have of long time groaned under many grievous pressures, occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes, than the honour of his Majesty, or the welfare of us his subjects; whereof we in humble manner declared ourselves to his Highness, by our agents, sent from the parliament, the representative body of this kingdom: Notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations; either with captivity of our consciences, our losing of our lawful liberties, or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just ground given on our parts to alter his Majestie's goodness so long continued unto us; of all which we find great cause of fears, in the proceeding of our neighbour nations, and do see it already attempted upon by certain petitioners, for the like course to be taken in this kingdom for the effecting thereof in a compulsory way; so, as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving the bond of mutual agreement, which hitherto hath been held

inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom; and whereby all other his Majestie's Dominions have been linked in one.—For the preventing therefore of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his Majestie's honour, and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his Highness's use and service, such forts, and other places of strength as, coming into the possession of others, might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing the Kingdom. And we do hereby declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards his Majesty, or purpose any hurt to any of his Highness's subjects, in their possessions, goods, or liberty; only we desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make remonstrance to his Majesty for us, of all our grievances and just fears; that they may be removed, and such a course settled by the advice of the parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other burthens in civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened, through the disorder of the common sort of people, against the English inhabitants, or any other, we, with the Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours, in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as in part we have already done. An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present expedition as may by

your Lordships be thought most convenient, for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and uncivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages, without any order, consenting, or privity of ours. All which we leave to your Lordship's most grave wisdom.

And we shall humbly pray, &c.

"This remonstrance," says Mr. Clogy, "was subscribed by many chief leaders among the Irish; as namely by Phelim O'Rely, that married the Earl of Ormond's mother, and commanded the county in chief; by Mulmore O'Rely, the high sheriff, his father; and Philip, brother to Edmond, that was the most cunning artificer of them all, and by many others that I did see subscribe it."

During the time of the Bishop's residence at his palace at Kilmore, he received a very extraordinary message from the titular bishop of the diocese, who had come to reside at Cavan. His name was Swiney; a name which, as Burnet says, he resembled in his nature; and his brother was one of those persons who had been converted through the means of Bedell, and for some time entertained by the bishop in his own house, until he found out for him some way of subsistence. This person, with a view the more peaceably to supplant Bedell in the enjoyment of his palace and property, before it should be scattered by the rebels; and anxious also to drive away those who had fled to him for protection, wrote a jesuitical letter to the bishop,

requesting to be admitted to lodge in his house; and assuring him that it would enable him to protect and preserve him. Bedell addressed to him an answer, in latin, which Bishop Burnet justly praises for the excellence of its style; and which certainly has scarcely ever been surpassed in candour, prudence, and piety: he presents us with the following translation of this epistle—

"Reverend Brother, I am sensible of your civility in offering to protect me, by your presence, in the midst of this tumult; and, upon the like occasion, I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you: but there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me.

"My house is straight, and there is a great number of miserable people of all ranks, ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary; besides that some of them are sick, among whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest, is the difference of our worships—I do not say of our religion, for I have ever thought, and have published it in my writings, that we have one common Christian Religion. Under our present miseries we comfort ourselves with the reading of the Holy Scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue, and with the singing of Psalms; and, since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself: nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see

you, if you were among us.; and, under that colour, those murtherers would break in upon us, who, after they have robbed us of all that belong to us, would, in conclusion, think they did God good service by our slaughter. For my own part, I am resolved to trust to the Divine Protection. To a Christian, and a bishop, that is now almost 70, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter; on the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And, though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people, under an anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so oft beaten, spoiled and stript, it will be both acceptable to God, honourable to yourself, and happy to the people, if they obey you; but, if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, Reverend Brother, I do heartily commend you. Yours in Christ,

Nov. 2, 1641. WILLIAM KILMORE."

Endorsed thus:—

To my Reverend and loving Brother,
Dr. Swiney."

The style of address in this letter, the last probably which Bedell ever wrote, is worthy of observation; it could not have been affectedly assumed by the bishop, nor could it have been chosen in the spirit of compromise—the contents of the epistle sufficiently clear it from the suspicion of this. It was in fact chosen deliberately, as that which was most proper to be used, in his intercourse with other professing christians having similar functions, as

ordained ministers of the gospel. Bedell knew Swiney to be a disgrace, by his notorious conduct, to the episcopal office, and indeed to the name of Christian; but, so far from bringing against him a railing accusation, he addressed him, as St. Paul did the carnal Corinthians, and by the epithet even of brother. His motive was not merely politeness, but duty; for, as we have already had occasion to observe, such was the uniform tenor of his conduct in his intercourse with all men; and he considered it to be that which was enjoined by scriptural obligations.

Were it not for the assertions of Mr. Clogy to the contrary, it might be presumed, that Swiney was not induced to make this strange offer to Bedell, from unworthy motives, but from one which influenced him not to give him any disturbance, although he must have had it in his power to do so; for it appears that, for several weeks, till the 18th of December following, Bedell, together with all that were within his walls, "enjoyed such quiet that, if it was not in all points a miracle, it was not far from one; and it seemed to be an accomplishment of those words—'A thousand shall fall on thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee; there shall no evil befal thee, for he shall give his angels charge over thee.' At length, however, they sent to him, desiring him to dismiss the company that was about him; but he refused to obey their civil order, and resolved to live and die with them; and would

have much more willingly offered himself to have died for them, than have accepted any favor for himself, from which they should be shut out." The rebels then "sent him word that, though they loved and honored him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many; yet they had received order from the council of state at Kilkenny, that had assumed their government, that, if he would not put away the people that had gathered about him, they should take him from them;" to this he said no more, than in the words of David and St. Paul,—'Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seems good to him,—the will of the Lord be done.' So, on the eighteenth of December, they came and seized on him, and all that belonged to him, and carried him on horseback, and his two sons and Mr. Clogy on foot, as prisoners to the Castle of Loch-oughter, a mile and a half from his house." They were not suffered to take any thing with them; but the titular bishop took possession of all, and said Mass the next Lord's day in the church. How long, and to what extent, the bishop would have experienced the favour and forbearance of the grateful Irish, had he not bound up his lot with the fortunes of others, towards whom they experienced no such feeling, it is vain to conjecture; it is sufficient to repeat that even the expulsion of his friends was delayed, until the peremptory orders of their rulers deprived them of all choice in their conduct. They would not allow the wives of the

bishop's sons to accompany their husbands, but permitted them to take refuge in the house of Mr. Dennis Sheridan.

During the time that the bishop remained at his house, he had been requested, by a Mrs. Dillon, to write for her use some instructions for her conduct, under circumstances of considerable difficulty and temptation. This lady, who was the widow of a London merchant, of the name of Hartlib, was a zealous and devout protestant, had been his constant hearer and neighbour, and had unfortunately married during her widowhood a Mr. Dillon, son to the Earl of Roscommon. As he was educated at the Inns of Court, and his eldest brother, Lord Dillon, was a protestant, a privy counsellor, and occasionally even one of the two Lord Justices, she never suspected him of being a Romanist, but hastily married him. Her story is affecting, is pregnant with an instructive lesson, and is recorded by Mr. Clogy, "that Christian women may learn to know what religion their love is of before their espousals." He gave her full liberty to go to church with the two daughters by her first husband; "but, when she was brought to bed of her first child to Mr. Dillon, if the women had not bestirred themselves that were then present about her, the poor infant had been torn in pieces, between the hands of the Christian mother and antichristian father; the mother desiring that her child might be baptized into Christ, by a minister of the gospel." Her husband however prevailed; and "forced the

child from her, with such popish violence, as if he had intended to have dashed them both in pieces;" and had it baptized by a priest, who was in readiness in the next room—"but she never offered the breast any more to it, than if it had been none of hers; nor strove with him any more about any of his children, but suffered him (though, with continual regret and sadness of heart,) to do with his children as it seemed good to him in his own eyes." Dillon became deeply implicated in the insurrection; and the house of Mrs. Dillon "being now a den of thieves and murderers," she sent to the bishop, "her faithful pastor, whose constant hearer she was, for a word of consolation in her hour of temptation." The bishop answered her by sending a paper, the last he ever wrote, commencing thus—"You desire, dear sister in Christ Jesus, that I would send you some short memorial, to put you in mind how to carry yourself in this sorrowful time; I will do it willingly, the more because that with one and the same labor I shall both satisfy you, and recollect mine own thoughts also, to the performance of mine own duty." He then proceeds, in a strain of spiritual wisdom, with a species of lecture upon the words of the epistle of St. Paul to Titus, "where he reduceth the whole practice of Christianity into three heads, of living soberly, justly, and godly. This last denoting our carriage towards God, the middlemost towards our neighbour, and the foremost towards ourselves."

In the conclusion he exhorts her to faithfulness,

and the use of prayer, and finishes in these words—"Now, because we know not how soon we may be called to sanctifie God's name, by making profession thereof, you may perhaps desire to know what to say in that day. You may openly profess your not doubting of any article of the Catholic faith, shortly laid down in the creed, or more largely laid down in the Holy Scriptures; but that you consent not to certain opinions, which are no points of faith, which have been brought into common belief, without warrant of Scripture, or pure antiquity, as namely,—

'That it is of necessity to salvation, to be under the Pope.

'That the Scriptures ought not to be read of the common people.

'That the doctrine of Holy Scripture is not sufficient to salvation.

'That the service of God ought to be in a language not understood by the people.

'That the communion should not be administered to them in both kinds.

'That the bread, in the Lord's Supper, is transubstantiated into his body.

'That he is there sacrificed for the quick and the dead.

'That there is any Purgatory, besides Christ's blood.

'That our good works can merit heaven.

'That the saints hear our prayers, and know our hearts.

'That Images are to be worshipped.

'That the Pope is infallible, and can command angels.

'That we ought to pray to the dead; and for the dead.—

'In all these, notwithstanding, you may profess your teachableness, if by sound reason, out of God's word, you shall be convinced of the truth of them. And, because we know not how far it will please God to call us to make resistance against sin, whether unto blood itself, or no, it shall be wisdom for us to prepare ourselves to the last care of a godly life, which is to die godly. This the apostle Paul calleth *sleeping in Jesus;* implying thereby our faith in him, our being found in his work, and our committing our souls into his hands with peace: such a sweet and heavenly sleep as that of St. Stephen, whose last words for himself were, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;* and, for his tormentors, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.* Wherewith I will end this writing, and wish to end my life, when the will of God shall be; to whose gracious protection, dear sister, I do heartily commit you."

Nov. 23. 1641.

Such was the spirit in which this excellent prelate penned the last of his writings—a spirit of meekness, of candour, and of faithfulness: the spirit indeed of Stephen; and fully prepared for that sleep which he soon, like the protomartyr, found in his blessed Lord.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE IMPRISONMENT OF BISHOP BEDELL, TO HIS DEATH.

THE Castle of Loch-oughter, although the only place of strength in the whole country, was but a little tower in a small lake, about a musket-shot from the shore; the water had gained so much upon the island on which the tower was built, that the ground was not a foot above it. Into this castle the bishop and his party were floated on a piece of timber. The place had been entrusted to the keeping of a Mr. Cullum, with an allowance for a magazine, to be laid up there for the defence of the country; but, "though he had in his house ten pounds worth of sugar and plums, yet he had not one pound of powder, nor one fixed musket for the defence of it; and therefore it was the first place they seized upon, and he the first that was clapped up into it." * All the prisoners, except the bishop, were at first put into irons; for the Irish, who were perpetually intoxicated, were afraid lest they should seize upon them and the castle; but in a

* Mr. Clogy's Narrative.

short time they consented to take these off, and did not disturb them in the worship of God. The castle was a miserable dwelling, extremely open to the weather, and the winter was very severe; "there was neither door nor window, of glass or wood, to keep out snow or rain, and the boards of the floors so rotten and broken with rain, that it seemed not very safe to walk on them; but God's providence in this extremity was marvellously seen towards them." The rebels had brought to the same wretched dungeon one Richard Castledine, who "had come over, a poor carpenter, to Ireland, with nothing but his tools on his back, and was first employed by Sir Richard Waldron, in the carpentry work of Farnham Castle, which he was building in the parish of Cavan; but, Sir Richard wasting his estate before he had finished his house, and afterwards leaving Ireland, God had so blest the industry of this Castledine, during thirty years of labour, that he bought this estate; and having only daughters, he married one of them out of gratitude to Sir Richard's youngest son, to whom he intended to have given the estate that had been his father's." He was "esteemed one of the most religious men in all the country; a devout man and one that feared God with all his house, which gave much alms to the people and prayed to God always; the Irish believed that he was very rich, so they preserved him, hoping to draw a good deal of money from him. Being brought to this miserable prison, he got some tools and old boards, and fitted them up as well as possi-

ble, to keep out the weather. The keepers of the prison brought their prisoners abundance of provision, but left them to dress it for themselves, which they, who knew little of what belonged to cookery, were glad to do in such a manner as to preserve their lives, and were all of them much supported in their spirits;—they did not suffer as evil-doers, they were not ashamed of the cross of Christ, but rejoiced in God in the midst of all their afflictions : and the old bishop took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the Epistle for the day, Phil. iv, 4, 5, 6, 7. which set before them the pattern of humility and sufferings of Christ ; and on Christmas-day he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament to the small congregation about him ; their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine. On the 26th December, Mr. William Bedell, the bishop's eldest son, preached on St. Stephen's last words ; which afforded proper matter for their meditation, who were every day in expectation when they should be put to give such a testimony of their faith, as that first martyr had done : and on the 2d of January, which was the last Sunday of their imprisonment, Mr. Clogy preached on St. Luke ii. 32, 33, 34. During all their religious exercises, their keepers never

gave them any disturbance; and, indeed, they carried themselves so gently towards them, that their natures seemed to be so much changed, that it looked like a second stopping the mouths of lions. They often told the bishop, that they had no personal quarrel with him; and no other cause to be so severe with him, but because he was an Englishman."

The sufferings however of the bishop in this wretched place were soon brought to a close. The fortresses of Keilah and Crohan, the dwellings of Sir F. Hamilton and Sir James Craig, which were within a mile of each other, and within two miles of Loch-oughter, had formed a place of refuge for a number of the Scotch and English; who, having made huts and cabins, and covered them with cow-hides, provided thus a residence for a considerable number. But, being closely besieged, and fearing that they should suffer more from famine than from battle, "they fix all their scythes upon long poles; and, being very scarce of ammunition though they had guns enough, they resolve to sally forth, and to make a resolute assault upon their enemy's camp in a frosty night; which they did perform with such irresistible courage and good success, that such persons as were not cut in pieces, or mangled with these terrible weapons, were either taken prisoners, or forced to run away and leave their camp as it was. This valiant exploit and prosperous adventure frightened the rebels so much, though they were ten to one, that they never offer-

ed to besiege them any more, till the 15th day of June following"—The sally was led by Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forbes, afterwards Lord Granard. Four persons of considerable interest among the prisoners, of the name of O'Rourke, were immediately exchanged for the bishop, his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, who were therefore released from Loch-oughter on the 7th day of January, leaving behind them Mr. Cullum and the carpenter, who parted them with bitter tears. The Irish had promised that they should be permitted to go safe to Dublin; but, intending to derive some further advantage from their remaining among them in the country, and still in their power, they would not allow them to quit it; they suffered them however to take up their residence at the house of Bedell's convert, the Rev. Dennis Sheridan, who lived within a mile of Kilmore, and with whom his son's wives had been permitted to abide. This was one of those extraordinary incidents, in the history of Bishop Bedell's life, which evidence the value of the simple and sincere course, which he had uniformly pursued in his dealings with the Roman Catholics in his diocese; and manifested that his plan was not, as was alleged, "the building of castles in the air." This individual to whose house Bedell was thus permitted to retire, had been himself a Roman Catholic clergyman; had been converted through the instrumentality of the bishop; and, although a priest, had married, and even had chosen an English lady for his wife. Not-

withstanding all this, however, he was not only himself excepted from the general proscription, but had been enabled, besides affording a last peaceful asylum to Bedell and his family, to relieve many others in their extremity. This fact exhibits a proof, that it was not religion merely which afforded to the Irish rebels the great principle of difference, in their treatment of those who were in their hands; but that there were other substantial springs of action, other prejudices in their minds, which had a directing influence over their conduct, as powerful as that of religion itself.* These were, in this instance, the ancient Milesian extraction of Sheridan, the power of which had not been much, if at all, lessened, even by his marriage with an English woman; and the fact that, although he had left the ancient religion, he had not abandoned the use of the native tongue. It is probable that the Irish people believed in their hearts, that, whatever might be his profession in matters which they little understood, and indeed had hitherto received from his teaching and authority alone, he did not hold heretical doctrines; and that such could not, in his ministry, and through the medium of their consecrated language, be inculcated.

We approach now to the interesting and edifying

* It is remarkable that, although a protestant and a convert, he was permitted to remain quietly in the same locality from whence the Romanist laird of Forsythe, a Scotchman, was compelled to fly, with the loss of every thing but his life. Sheridan continued firm in his profession of the reformed faith; and his influence preserved the MS. of the Irish Bible from destruction by the rebels. His two sons were afterwards Bishops of Cloyne and of Kilmore, in the established church.

circumstances which marked the last days of our venerable prelate; and, in detailing them, we shall follow very closely the account given of them by his biographer, the Bishop of Sarum: not only because we possess but little information by which they can be varied, as he borrowed them from the narrative of Mr. Clogy; but because they are related by him in a manner which scarce admits of improvement.

In the house of Mr. Sheridan "the bishop spent the few remaining days of his pilgrimage; having his latter end so clear in view, that he seemed dead to the world, and every thing in it, and to be hasting for the coming of the day of God. During the last sabbaths of his life, though there were three ministers present, he read all the prayers and lessons himself, and likewise preached on all those days. On the 9th of January, he preached on the whole 44th Psalm, being the first of the Psalms appointed for that day, and very suitable to the miseries the English were then in. Next Sabbath, which was the 16th, he preached on the 79th Psalm, the first Psalm for the day, which runs much on the like argument; when the temple was defiled, and Jerusalem was laid on heaps, and the dead bodies of God's servants were given to be meat to the fowls of heaven, and their flesh to the beasts of the earth; and their blood was shed like water, and there was none to bury them. Their condition being so like one another, it was

very proper to put up that prayer.—'Oh! remember not against us former iniquities; let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low;' together with the other.—'Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee;—according to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to die.' On the 23rd, he preached on the last ten verses of the 71st Psalm, observing the great fitness that was in them to express his present condition, especially in these words,—'O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works; now also, when I am old and greyheaded, forsake me not;'—and, on the 30th, which was the last Lord's day on which he had strength enough to preach, he preached on the 144th Psalm; and, when he came to the words in the 7th verse, which are also repeated in the 11th verse,—'Send thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great waters; from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood;'—he repeated them again and again, with so much zeal and affection, that it appeared how much he was hasting to the day of God, and that his heart was crying out,—'Come! Lord Jesus, come quickly; how long? how long?'—and he dwelt so long upon them, with so many sighs, that all the little assembly about him, of whom Mrs. Dillon was one, melted into tears, and looked upon this as a presage of his approaching dissolution. And it proved

too true; for the day after, he was visited with sickness, occasioned by a cold contracted in his prison, which on the second day after appeared to be an ague; and, on the fourth day, he, apprehending his speedy change, called for his sons, and his sons' wives, and spake to them at several times, as near in these words as their memories could serve them to write them down soon after.

'I am going the way of all flesh; I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand; knowing, therefore, that shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me, I know also that, if this my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens, a fair mansion in the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God. Therefore, for me to live is Christ and to die is gain; which increaseth my desire even now to depart and be with Christ; which is far better, than to continue here in all the transitory, vain and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Hearken, therefore, unto the last words of your dying father; I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world; I ascend to my Father, and your Father, to my God and your God, through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer, who ever liveth to make intercession for me, who is a propitiation for all my sins, and washed me from them all in his own blood; who is worthy to receive glory

and honour, and power; who hath created all things, and for whose pleasure they are and were created.

'My witness is in heaven, and my record on high, that I have endeavoured to glorify God on earth, and in the ministry of the Gospel of his dear Son, which was committed to my trust; I have finished the work which he gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation; lo! I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest—I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness, and thy salvation; I have not concealed thy loving-kindness and thy truth from the great congregation of mankind. He is near that justifieth me, that I have not concealed the words of the holy one; but the words that he gave to me, I have given to you, and ye have received them. I had a desire and a resolution to walk before God, (in every station of my pilgrimage, from my youth up to this day,) in truth, and with an upright heart, and to do that which was upright in his eyes, to the utmost of my power; and what things were gain to me formerly, those I count now loss for Christ; yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord; for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having my

own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith ; that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death—I press, therefore, towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

'Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ ; neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword ; though, as ye hear and see, for his sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter ; yet in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us : for I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God, in Christ Jesus, my Lord. Therefore love not the world, nor the things of the world ; but prepare daily and hourly for death, that now besieges us on every side, and be faithful unto death ; that we may meet together joyfully, on the right hand of Christ at the last day, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, with all those that are clothed in white robes in sign of innocency, and palms in their hands in sign of victory ; which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more,

nor thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

'Choose rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look, therefore, for suffering, and to be daily made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church. What can you look for, but one woe after another, while the Man of Sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havoc of God's people at his pleasure; while men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of those whose blood is precious in God's sight, though now shed every where like water. If ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye; be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye troubled, and in nothing terrified by your adversaries; which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given in behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but to suffer for his sake. Rejoice, therefore, for as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; the spirit of glory and of Christ

resteth on you—on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.

'God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the rivers of the south, and bring you back again into your possession in this land; though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; yet ye shall reap in joy, though now ye sow in tears: all our losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages; for my God will supply all your need, according to his riches in glory by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or think."

After that he blessed his children, and them that stood about him, in an audible voice, in these words;—"God of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy, and unblameable, and unreproveable in his sight; that we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory, Amen." To which he added, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry and life together. Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the flock; yet I trust the great Shepherd of his flock will save and deliver his flock out of all places, where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall be no more a prey to the Heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them, but they shall dwell safely and none shall make them afraid. O Lord! I have

waited for thy salvation." After a little interval, he said,—"I have kept the faith once given to the saints, for the which cause I have also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded, that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day."

After this time he spoke little; for, as his sickness increased, his speech failed, and he slumbered out most of the time, and took but little food; but his spirit was serene, and "it appeared that he was cheerfully waiting for his change, which at last came, about midnight on the 7th of February; when he fell asleep in the Lord, and entered into his rest, and obtained his crown; which in some sort was a crown of martyrdom—for no doubt the sad weight of sorrow that lay upon his mind, and his ill usage in his imprisonment, had much hastened his death; and he suffered much more, in his mind, by what he had lived to hear and see these last fifteen weeks of his life, than he could have done, if he had fallen by the sword, among the first of those that felt the rage of the Irish."

Such was the peaceful and happy end of Bishop Bedell; and, as his life and death were calculated to edify by example, so were the facts attending his funeral, by the instructive comment which they afford on his character and conduct.

Upon his death, Mr. Clogy; with Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Dillon at his wife's request, waited upon

the intruding Bishop, for permission to have him buried in the church-yard of the Cathedral; "We found him,"* says Mr. Clogy, "lying upon a bolster, so drunk with Usquebea, that, when Mr. Dillon came in and kneeled before him, as their popish manner is, he was not able to stretch forth his hand towards him; but a fryar that stood by took up his drunken hand, and laid it upon the popish head." At first he excepted to it, and said, the church-yard was holy ground, and was no more to be defiled with Heretics' bodies; yet he consented to it at last. "So, on the 9th of February, he was buried according to the direction he himself had given, next his wife's coffin. The Irish did him unusual honors at his burial; for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body, from Mr. Sheridan's house to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great solemnity; and they desired Mr. Clogy to bury him, according to the office prescribed by the Church; but it was not thought advisable to provoke the rabble so much, as perhaps that might have done; so it was passed over: but the Irish discharged a volley of shot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum—'May the last of the English rest in peace!'—for they had often said that, as they esteemed him the best of the English Bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them."

* This passage, from the MS. narrative in the British Museum, suffices of itself to demonstrate, that it was written by Mr. Clogy.

It is further recorded, that a Roman Catholic priest, named Edmund Farrelly, a tenant of the Bishop's, a man of whom he was fond, and for his good qualities and agreeable conversation had frequently at his table, where they often chose religion for their topic, exclaimed at his interment—"O sit anima mea cum Bedello!" "Oh may my soul be with that of Bedell!"

This was the exclamation of a Romanist priest—how fully should it be responded to by the heart of every protestant! for surely we have not had, since the first age of Christianity, a more primitive and apostolical model exhibited in the church. In this venerable prelate so many of these traits did "shew themselves so eminently, that," as Burnet remarks, "it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead, both for convincing the unjust enemies of that venerable order, and for the instruction of those that succeed him in it; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has more authority with it, than all speculative discourses can possibly have. And, as the lives of the primitive Christians were a speaking apology for their religion, as well as a direction to those who grow up; so it is to be hoped, that the solemn, though silent, language of so bright an example, will have the desired effect both ways."

On the subject of Bishop Bedell's religious principles it is not necessary to add much, constituting as they do, the main subject of this work; yet

the importance of the topic makes it to be proper to present a short and summary view of them here, as it is sketched by the Bishop of Sarum. "It appeared he had a true and general notion of religion, and that he did not look upon it so much as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, as a divine discipline that reforms the heart and life; and, therefore, when some men were valued for their zeal for lesser matters, he had those words of St. Augustine's often in his mouth;—"It is not leaves but fruit that I seek." This was the true principle of his great zeal against Popery; it was not the peevishness of a party, the sourness of a speculative man, nor the concern of an interested person, that wrought on him; but he considered the corruptions of that church, as an effectual course for enervating the true design of Christianity; and this he not only gathered from speculation, but from what he saw and knew, during his long abode in Italy. His devotion in his closet was only known to Him, who commanded him to pray in secret. In his family he prayed always thrice a day, in a set form, though he did not read it; this he did in the morning, and before dinner, and after supper; and he never turned over this duty, or the short devotions before and after meat, to his chaplain, but was always his own chaplain. He looked upon the obligation of observing the sabbath as moral and perpetual; and considered it so great an engine for carrying on the true ends of religion, that, as he would never go into the liberties that

many practised on that day, so he was exemplary in his own exact observation of it; preaching always once, and catechising once; and, besides that, he used to go over the sermons again in his family, and sing psalms, and concluded all with prayer."

It will appear from this, and all that has been repeated of Bedell, that his Christianity was purely Evangelical; or, in other words, that his doctrine and his conduct were scriptural and spiritual. One interesting anecdote of him exhibits his deep experience of the plague of his own heart.* "As my Lord Primate had engraven on his episcopal seal—'heu mihi nisi Evangelizavero!'—so the Bishop of Kilmore had written on his, the Hebrew words from the 2nd of Isaiah v. 25,—'Take from me all my tin;"—the term tin is Bedil, in the original. This was engraved over a flaming crucible. This ingenious device reminded him, that "every thing in himself was but base alloy; and, therefore, he prayed that God would cleanse him from it." It had, long before he was Bishop, been assumed by Bedell; there is a deed to which he was a party, preserved, among others, in the parish church of Horningshearth, and which is sealed with this impress.

In analyzing the traits which combined to form the general character of Bishop Bedell, we shall be obliged to make some observations which have

* Mr. Clogy's Narrative.

been partly anticipated, when relating the events of his life. We are led particularly to remark and admire, that excellent balance of opposite qualities, which seems to be peculiar to great minds, and chiefly enables them to influence the spirits of men. In him, for instance, was that Fabrician firmness, which it was as difficult to move from its straight path of rectitude, as the sun from its course; combined with a meekness and humility so signal, that they shewed well the pattern which he followed was that of him, who was at once the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and the Lamb that was slain. In him, still further, were united an energy, which gave to firmness of resolution its practical power, and a benevolence, which ripened all the blossoms of an active spirit into useful fruits. A well-balanced mind was peculiarly his characteristic: and, as his life was like to a voyage in a stormy sea, full of quicksands and hidden rocks; so his passage through it resembled that of the well-appointed bark, which holds on its steady voyage, adapting its spread of sail to the exigencies of tempest or of calm, and ever obedient to the direction given by the experienced and intelligent helmsman, whose eye is now fixed upon the heavens, now looks out calmly upon the threatening dangers, and now bends to watch and examine the silent inward monitor, whose trembling but steady pointing towards the great object of constraining attention, serves best to direct his course.

When we thus contemplate the humble piety

and benevolence, firmness and truth, which combined in the character of Bishop Bedell, we are constrained to venerate him; but, when we look to him in his domestic and social qualities, that reverence becomes insensibly blended with affection: for we find in him the friend, the husband, the father—every relation of life, maintained in the most amiable manner. And lastly, when we view his gifts of intellect, we perceive the philosopher and the scholar combined; and discover qualities united, which rendered him equally capable of originating noble designs, and of assisting efficiently in completing them. And yet, "amidst all those extraordinary talents with which God had blessed him, it never appeared that he overvalued himself, or despised others; that he assumed to himself a Dictatorship, or was impatient of contradiction."* His spirit was peculiarly gentle and retiring; and

* Burnet's memoir of his life. He appears on the contrary to have been sensitive in respect to the opinions of men; yet not so much so as to divert him, in the least degree, from following his straight path of duty. We have seen this in his wavering respecting the Provostship of the College, in some of his letters to the Primate, and we shall find it in the following passage, contained in a letter from L. Robinson, to Ussher, and published in Dr. Parr's Appendix, (letter 150). The writer there, alluding to Bishop Bedell, mentions the "apology he made for himself amongst his ministers, gathered together in the church of Kilmore, for the inhibiting of Mr. Cook; where he shewed much grief, that there were divers scandalous reports raised of him,"—as to his being called Arminian, Neutre, Papist, &c. This letter contains a strange paragraph, which proves how much Bishop Bedell was observed, and how little understood. "He sent," says the writer, "a strange absolution to an Irish recusant, in a letter (using many good instructions, for the man was sick), in this form. If you be content to receive Christ, and believe on him; by the authority which is given to me, I absolve you from all your sins you have confessed to Almighty God, and are truly contrite for; in the name, &c. Amen."

more in harmony with the peaceful Society of Emmanuel College, the pastoral seclusion of Horningshearth, and meditation in his garden of Kilmore, than with the exciting bustle of the Provostship, the courted enjoyment of Episcopal authority, or the display of gifted conversation at the table of the great. His personal sacrifices, therefore, to follow his high calling, with the energy that distinguished his character, are the more praiseworthy and remarkable.

It may perhaps be objected, that I have laboured too much to exalt the character of Bishop Bedell. The Bishop of Sarum, in his preface to the life of this admirable man, expresses himself as very jealous of panegyric; and asserts, that facts alone should be left to "praise the person" that forms the subject of biography: but this remark is neither consonant to my feeling, nor agreeable to my judgment; neither did it influence Bishop Burnet himself, when he warmed in the detail of his memoir. Biography should, it is true, be chiefly confined to memorials of the deceased; but, when the person that is the subject of it is out of the reach of flattery, it can scarcely be in any way injurious, to throw into full relief, by appropriate comment, those qualities which formed the peculiar excellence of his character—to hold him forth a bright example to the world, by giving a good report of his faith, as St. Paul did of that of the elders (Heb. xi.);—and to promote the glory of his God, by exhibiting, in just and not cold colouring, the excellence of

that masterpiece of all God's wonderful works—a holy man. It enables truth also, in the present instance, to shew forth a just pattern for imitation to the established church, in this age of its revival and developement. When we read of Bishop Bedell's strictly orthodox and scriptural principles and practice, equally free from the fetters of semi-Romanism, and the slovenliness of misrule, we acknowledge in him the truly evangelical prelate of that church, conscientiously and consistently walking by its highest rules of discipline and of order; yet not therefore forgetting, that its great Shepherd has other sheep "which are not of this fold;" or assuming an exclusive tone, which is little in accordance with the teaching of the Holy Scriptures: and we draw this conclusion from his history, that his was precisely the character of a protestant prelate, the best suited to Ireland, in all its peculiar circumstances, and requirements.

"In his desk* his last will and testament was found, which he wrote out once a year; wherein, after a divine preface and short confession of his faith, he concludes with that of Paul to Timothy—'I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded, that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.' And then, having disposed of his estate in England and Ireland, he leaves to the Library of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, where he was bred, the rare Hebrew MS. of the Old Testament before mentioned; and to

* Mr. Clogy's Narrative.

the Primate of Ireland, a latin psalter, written above 500 years ago, in the Saxon character, which is the present Irish character at this day. It was as fair and legible as it was at first; the first letter of each psalm an inch square and gilded with gold, the goodliest that had been seen in any elder age. He ordered his body to be laid, where by God's providence it now lies, waiting for a joyful resurrection; and on his grave-stone these words to be engraven—'Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis;' which I doubt not but is performed by his sons."

In his library, which was destroyed by the rebels, "were many monuments of great antiquity; amongst the rest the records of the Abbey of St. Edmund's Bury," (it is presumed only a copy of them)—"and many MSS. that he had brought out of Italy. He had bought of Mr. William Perkins his study of books; and to the publishing of some of his works, after his death, he was very instrumental." A large trunk of his writings, and other MSS. fell into the hands of the rebels; and it is supposed that they were destroyed by fire. It is however an interesting fact, that Mr. Sheridan contrived to preserve two of his books, both of them valuable copies of the Bible;—his Irish version, and the great Hebrew MS. above mentioned. Among those which were destroyed were, a very great number of critical expositions of the scripture, and many of the works of controversy that were composed by him, in the course of his attempts

to convert persons of the Roman communion to the protestant faith. But among the papers which perished, we have most especially to lament the loss of one upon a most important subject; and which, next to the Bible itself, would have been likely to have become most useful in our generation—this was a large treatise,* "containing 50 sheets of paper," upon the two questions so triumphantly put forth by the advocates of the Church of Rome,—"Where was our church before Luther?" and—"What became of our fathers before the Reformation?" two questions which had been "propounded to him in England, by one that called himself then Paul Washington, a priest;" afterwards known in Dublin, under the name of Paul Harris. This work he had intended to have published; and it must have been highly valuable, as he determined to do so on the solicitation of Ussher, who himself has written so much touching these questions, and so well; and who was therefore more competent than any other person, to judge what would be useful upon them. This Primate's 'Religion of the ancient Irish,' is a tract on the first of these questions, as far as it relates to Ireland, which contains a mass of ancient authority, sufficient to determine it; while it shews, that much of the latter of the two questions is based upon a very false assumption; and that the most hallowed of our ancient saints did *not* die in popery, but departed from this life at a period antecedent to its introduction into this

* Mr. Clogy's Narrative

island, and very long before its general reception therein.

The loss of Bedell's book is greatly to be regretted indeed; for, with a people so attached to ancient authorities as the Irish, an argument drawn from the doctrines of venerated antiquity would doubtless have had the most powerful effect; and, had we such a volume now, translated into Irish, and sent forth with Bedell's name, which is still revered because of its connection with the Bible in the native tongue, we might expect its successes to be as triumphant, in the refutation of the errors latent in these questions, as they are themselves triumphant in their arrogant tone. Another great loss that we have suffered by the destruction of Bedell's papers, is that of a daily journal, which, for many years, he kept of his life. How exceedingly interesting this must have proved to the world, we are well enabled to estimate; we possess an abundant supply of such memoirs in modern days; and the pleasure and instruction which are derived from the perusal of many of these, cause us doubly to lament the destruction of Bedell's Diary.

His published works were very few; the principal was his correspondence with Mr. Waddesworth, which the Bishop of Sarum has appended to the memoir of his life. Besides this there are some letters, sermons, and other papers, some of which have been published in Dr. Parr's collection at the end of his life of Ussher, among the letters forming the correspondence of Lord Strafford, and in the

Bishop of Sarum's memoir above mentioned. Among the first are his letters to Dr. Ward, on the subject of the justification of infants by baptism. Bedell mentions, in one of his letters, "an answer to Dr. Richardson, on the question concerning the root of efficacy, or efficiency, of grace." We have already noticed his letter to the German divines, which persuaded the Lutherans of Dublin to join in communion with the established church; and his grammars of the English and Irish tongues, the former for the use of the celebrated Paolo, which were probably none of them ever printed. His translation of Paolo's history of the Interdict, and of the Inquisition, into Latin, and of the two last books of the history of the council of Trent, have been printed; but a valuable collection, his correspondence with that eminent person, written during the contest between the Jesuits and Dominicans on the efficacy of free grace, which contained the views of Paolo on that subject, were destroyed in the rebellion; together with all the letters he received, in the correspondence which he maintained with many of the learned men of the age.

Mr. Clogy informs us, that Bishop Bedell read annually from the pulpit, before his sermon on the 5th of November, a letter which he received from London, while he was preacher at St. Edmundsbury, about the discovery of the gunpowder plot, with all circumstances of it; "and after supper, he constantly read, on the same day, an excellent poem which he wrote at that time, called the

Shepherd's Tale; being a poetical dialogue between certain Shepherds, concerning that plot, in the old dialect of Chaucer, and two or three sheets of paper; you may see it," he continues, "with his Latin letters to Mr. John Dury, about the pacification of the Reformed Churches."

"You may, perhaps," says Mr. Clogy in his narrative, "desire to know what became of his children after his death,—they continued at Mr. Sheridan's house until the 15th day of June following, waiting for the the Lord's deliverance; and the service of God was kept up in that family by Mr. Bedell, and by A. C." (Mr. Clogy,) "the minister of Cavan. The Scots, that had stood upon their own defence in two small castles, being wearied with vain expectation of relief, their small store of ammunition being drained, were at length begirt by all the forces the enemy could draw together; so that all their forage was cut off, and no possibility of making any sallies into the enemies' camp, as they had done previously in the former siege, they were soon straitened with famine and sickness, for want of room and outward accommodation, (for nine score died in one castle in a few weeks, Sir James Craig and his lady both died); at last they were necessitated to submit to such terms as they could obtain. The rebels were afraid of another desperate sally, so the besieged were suffered to march out with some arms, and with all their moveable goods that they could conveniently carry away with them, by horse or cart, towards Dublin,

that was 50 miles distant, and nothing left by the way but destruction and desolation. Cavan, Virginia, Kells, Navan, Dunshaghlin, Slane, Tarah, Swords, all ruinous heaps; and no inhabitant left in that rich tract of land, which was a woeful spectacle. In this transaction my Lord of Kilmore's children, with the minister of Cavan, Mr. Arthur Cullum, with Mr. Castledyne, were included."

"So, on the 15th day of June, 1642, we marched away, above 1,200 men, women and children, after they had eaten the cowhides that covered their cabins and huts from Christmas till June. A sad company of poor people we were, as ever were seen together; some loaden with children, some great with child, many with two little ones in their arms, yet all rejoicing in the Lord for our enlargement at last. About 2,000 rebels accompanying us for our life-guard, according to the articles of our agreement, which were written by Archdeacon Price before mentioned, but now Archbishop of Cashel. The Scots had about 300 horse, some of them well-appointed, under the conduct of Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forbes—Major Bayly had his foot company of Scots that lay at Cavan, and had made their escape in the night to those two castles, with all their arms of the trained bands with them. The country had orders to bring us provision for money, as was articled; which they did in great plenty. Though there were many plots to cut us off by the way, yet the Lord of hosts was with us for our defence; and brought

forth this little flock, as his great flock out of Egypt of old. To him be glory for ever."

"On the 22nd day of June, Sir H. Tichborne, the governor of Drogheda, with Captain Gibson, met us with a party of horse and foot, within ten miles of his garrison of Drogheda, and conducted us safely thither by the good hand of God upon us. The rebels that conducted us took solemn leave of us; being sore afraid at the sight of our English forces, they hasted away; having kept us seven nights in the open fields, without any thing under or over us, but what each of us carried about: yet they offered us no violence; (save in the night, when our men were weary with continual watching, they would steal away a good horse and run away); but were very civil to us all the way: and many of them wept at our parting from them, that had lived so long peaceably amongst them, as if we had been one people with them.

"From Drogheda some took shipping, and went for England; as my Lord of Kilmore's sons, and others who had friends. His eldest son, Mr. William Bedell was made minister of Ratlesden, in Suffolk; his younger son, Mr. Ambrose Bedell, returned speedily into Ireland, and was a captain in Col. Hill's regiment, (who was his wife's uncle); for whom my Lord, his father, purchased a good estate of one Mr. Baxter, a minister, where he now lives a justice of peace. Most of our poor pillaged company came towards Dublin;—a poor exhausted city of refuge, which was neither able

to lodge us, nor to relieve us with things necessary; thousands dying every week, being pierced through for want of the fruits of the earth."

Bedell had given orders by his will, that he should he buried in the church-yard of Kilmore,*

* There is in Richard Cumberland's memoirs of his father, Bishop Cumberland, p. 376; a passage relating to the interment of this prelate, which, as it gives peculiar honor to the memory of Bedell, to whom he was successor in the see of Kilmore, I shall here transcribe,—it is thus. "In a small patch of ground, enclosed within stone walls, adjoining to the church-yard of Kilmore, but not within the pale of consecrated ground, my father's corpse was interred, beside the grave of the venerable and exemplary Bishop Bedell. This little spot, as containing the remains of that great and good man, my father had fenced with peculiar devotion; and he had more than once pointed it out to me as his destined grave, saying to me, as I well remember, in the words of the old prophet of Bethel,—'When I am dead, then bury me in this sepulchre wherein the man of God is buried; lay my bones by his bones.' This injunction was exactly fulfilled; and the protestant Bishop of Kilmore, the mild friend of mankind, the impartial benefactor and unprejudiced protector of his Catholic poor, who almost adored him whilst living, was not permitted to deposit his remains within the precincts of his own church-yard, though they howled over his grave, and rent the air with their savage lamentations. Thus, while their carcases monopolize the consecrated ground, his bones and the bones of Bedell, made sacred the humblest soil in which they moulder."

Bishop Mant (History of the Irish Church, Vol. II. p. 655.) is quite right in arraigning the accuracy of this statement, that the grave of Bedell was not within the pale of consecrated ground. The narrative of Mr. Clogy alludes to this point more than once, and the passages that we have already quoted, leave no doubt upon the subject; that, although a heretic in the intruding Bishop's eyes, his body was laid "in the church-yard of Kilmore," and "next to his wife's coffin." Indeed the choice by Bedell of this spot for the depositing of his wife's remains, demonstrates, to any one acquainted with his character and sentiments, that it must have been consecrated ground; while it, at the same time, shews that tradition of the parish to be most probably erroneous, which is said to testify that he was buried in the burying ground of the family of Sheridan; unless, which is not likely, he had procured permission for his wife to be interred therein at the time of her decease. The other assertion which staggers the belief of Bishop Mant, that Bishop Cumberland was not permitted, in 1774, "to deposit his remains in his own church-yard," through the opposition "of his Catholic poor," owes all its appearance, in my mind, to ungrammatical arrangement in a sentence too loosely composed; and that Richard Cumberland, by these remarks, intended to allude to the case of Bishop Bedell, and not to that of his father.

next his wife, with this simple inscription, such as it now appears, though much obliterated, on his tomb. "Gulielmi Bedel, quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis; Depositum." Close to this spot, and in the Bishop's garden, he planted a tree, a sycamore, which afterwards attained to a remarkable size, and a most beautiful form. It is still universally known by his name; and, while it is sometimes visited with feelings of reverence by a few who know his worth, it is consecrated by affectionate tradition, among a few others of the people, to the memory of some undefined object of ancient love and respect, of which no other trace now exists; if we except the ruins of Loch-Oughter Castle, which is still pointed out to travellers as Bedell's prison; and his worn and almost defaced tomb-stone.

This consists of a slab, of which a drawing is given, in the first Volume of Bishop Mant's history of the Irish Church. It is engraved with the armorial bearings of Bedell, surmounted by a mitre. Below the arms are an open book, an hour-glass, a scull, and cross bones; and under them there is an inscription, which his Lordship is anxious to correct from the inaccuracy of that given by Bishop Burnet; but his correspondent, whose writing is somewhat at variance with his drawing, has not enabled him to do so precisely. However, the difference is immaterial as to the point commented on by the Bishop of Sarum, in the following words — "'Depositum' cannot bear an English translation, it signifying somewhat given to ano-

ther in trust; so he considered his burial as a trust left in the earth, till the time that it shall be called on to give up its dead.

"The modesty of that inscription," he observes, "adds to his merit;" it doubtless testifies of his humility, and perhaps there no where exists an epitaph better calculated to lead the mind into a train of wholesome meditation; at least, if the reading of it be preceded by some acquaintance with the spirit which once animated these remains—and will reanimate them at that blessed time, when the precious pledge shall be redeemed, and when, purified of their alloy, all "those that are departed in the true faith of Jesus Christ, shall have their perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in his eternal and everlasting glory."

We shall conclude this memoir with the pious aspiration of the Bishop of Sarum.

"May the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, so inspire all that are the overseers of that flock which he purchased with his own blood, that, in imitation of all those glorious patterns that are in Church history, and of this, in the last age, that is inferior to very few that any former age produced, they may watch over the flock of Christ; and so feed and govern it, that the mouths of all adversaries may be stopped: that this apostolical order, recovering its primitive spirit and vigour, it may be received and obeyed with that same submission and esteem, that was paid to it in former times: and that, all differences about lesser matters

being laid down, peace and truth may again flourish, and the true ends of Religion and Church-government may be advanced: and that, instead of biting, devouring, and consuming one another, as we do, we may all build up one another in our most holy Faith." Amen.

APPENDIX.

(NOTE TO p. 326.)

ALTHOUGH the foresight of such men as Bedell and Boyle might calculate justly, that beneficial effects must follow from the use of a popular tongue, in the attempt to instruct a people, and reasonably expect extraordinary results from such a process in a country so circumstanced as Ireland, there have occurred many facts in the development of late events, which could never have been fully anticipated. These demonstrate, that an extraordinary blessing has attended the operations from whence they have proceeded, and are especially examples of an overruling of apparent error, to the effecting of much good, and this in a remarkable manner. It is necessary, for many reasons, to notice them here—to know them may prevent mistakes, in applying the great engines of usefulness which are recommended; and direct others, in humility and in faith, to the choice of, and dependence on, the most proper means for promoting the glory of God, through the channel that he appears to have prepared and approved of in Ireland.

In the first instance, it has naturally occurred to many, that, as some of the terms made use of by Mr. King in his translation, have probably become obsolete in the course of two centuries, and as several of them are admitted to be difficult, it would obviously be an advantage to exchange them for others; yet

such would not be practically the fact; on the contrary, to their existence we are to attribute some of those unforeseen and important consequences that surprise us in this work. These difficult passages, and obsolete terms, have one uniform effect of bringing the peasants together, for the purpose of inquiry, and of mutual instruction; of sending them, not only to the dictionary, but to the English bible, which in some places they name "the construer;" and finally of inducing them to seek, from the Protestant minister, an elucidation of obscurities which they are determined to have fully dispelled.

In the next place, it might be said, that it is but reasonable, that a new edition of their bible with marginal references should be given, to assist them in their necessary search after divine truth; and, yet again, the want of this has been the actual cause of such a demand for the English Protestant versions which do contain them, that in King's-court many hundreds have been lately circulated, where they had, but a few years past, been given up to the priest to be burned; and they are, for the sake of these references, now even more coveted than the Irish. It would also be naturally expected, and it was supposed at the beginning of the work, that the use of the English letter, and also the publication of the Scriptures in the two languages, placed by each other in parallel columns, would facilitate the transition of the Irish-speaking people to the much-desired use of the English tongue; but this was very soon found to be the greatest mistake of all. In the first place, those who admitted of this conjecture entirely forgot, or were ignorant of, the existing prejudice against the English language, and even against the Irish in the English character, which prevented, as we have already stated, the reception of any book in that garb; they were much mistaken in their reasoning also, because, on account of the different powers of the letters in the different tongues, the use of the Roman character in Irish words created a necessity for more, and not for less, of instruction in new things: and finally, had this measure been continued, we should have missed of one great consequence of the present and simple plan,—the seeking for the English version in the Protestant Bible,—and the inquiry, discussion and conciliation, which have followed from it. Again, we have already mentioned the fears, apparently so well

grounded, that the restoration of the Irish language into more general use would be the result of all this, and that thus would the breach be widened, which has hitherto formed an almost unsurmountable barrier to an union in the thoughts and sentiments of the two nations; but precisely the contrary has occurred. Not only has the study of the Irish led every where to the readier acquisition of the English tongue, but in many places it has introduced, as already alluded to, the English School, the English Bible, the English Protestant minister, familiarly to the people, and every where these people are brought into friendly communication for the purposes of scriptural inquiry. With this is connected the last instance of this kind of unexpected anomaly which we shall mention. It will naturally suggest itself to many, that, if such be the state of preparation among the Irish, it would be wise to supply them immediately with books conveying religious, and other instruction, in their proper tongue; but, in this business of paradoxes, we could prove, that nothing would be more injurious. Were this example given by the well-intentioned, there are many who would meet the poor peasant at his quitting the school, where he has learned to read, with tracts of a noxious quality; and would be glad thus to convert seminaries supported by protestants, into the means of disseminating Roman Catholic errors. One great inducement also to the Protestant to teach the Irish to read was, that it sent them to the Bible, the only book in their language that they could procure; and it is surprising what a great extent of Scriptural knowledge, among the peasants, has resulted from this fact; this and other advantages would have been lost, by furnishing them with other books. In fine, the world has been anxious for some proof of a blessing having been, to any degree, vouchsafed to the reading of God's word uncommented and alone; it is here most abundantly exhibited—Many good men have objected to the agency through which the Irish Society operated in its beginnings—mere Roman Catholics, unenlightened and opposed to scriptural truth—but they had no other to employ. No Protestant ministers existed to preach the gospel in the native tongue—the uncommented Bible was therefore sent forth, to be the spirit's herald of its own contents; and it has completely succeeded, not only to the full ex-

tent expected, but beyond that which could have been looked for by the most sanguine. From all these circumstances it appears—not only from the good results that were originally foreseen, but from unexpected ones arising from the peculiar interference of infinite wisdom, accomplishing the ends of omnipotence, in a manner the least obvious to human calculation—that no measure is so likely to contribute to the future and permanent peace and prosperity of Ireland, in every point of view, as the completion of the work commenced by Bishop Bedell, and by the most extended circulation possible of the Irish Bible. It now remains for the Christian Church, to prepare and send forth a competent ministry in that tongue, that the Lord's great last command—"go preach the Gospel"—may be obeyed in the manner he especially favoured. Fortunately, in the large district of King's court, where English is spoken, as well as Irish, the people, now that their prejudices against the former tongue are removed, flock to the existing Churches of the establishment, and receive the full benefit of an Evangelical English ministry. Thus, on the 6th of November last, even since the printing of the account of that neighbourhood in this memoir, and on the occasion of the annual autumnal examination of the masters and pupils, 323 of these attended divine service at the English church; and so great a number as 200, of whom 160 were new converts, remained to partake of the Communion, after a careful previous examination, for some days, by several ministers of the established united church. But in Munster an Irish ministry must be provided to meet the requirements of the people.

To conclude this most important and national subject—there are two circumstances which render a circulation of the Irish Scriptures exceedingly useful, even in places where the natives should have no objection to receive the English Bible; the mention of which is desirable, were it only to complete the view of the peculiarities which belong to the former version. The first is, that there is in the Irish translation an intrinsic value, arising from the fact, that the language is original; and, therefore, the difficult compound terms that occur in the Bible are more easily made intelligible to those with whom the language is vernacular, than is the case in other European tongues—the roots

of these words are in general apparent. To illustrate this by an example—An English reader that has recourse to his Bible, for instruction in the great doctrines of salvation, immediately meets with terms derived from the Latin and the Greek, the distinct meanings of which cannot be obvious, and some of which suggest at first, through the improper use of language, ideas different from those which are truly intended; for instance, justification, regeneration, sanctification, charity, redemption, baptism, conversion, repentance, and others. The correct signification of some of these terms, is not always to be derived from the context; and must, if the reader be not himself versed in the original tongues, be either taken from a Dictionary, or from the explanation of some accredited teacher; a necessity which had better be avoided, and a dependence, the importance of which seems to have been well known to the Church of Rome. Hence it is that their Rhemish translators, when they gave the people by compulsion the New Testament in their vulgar tongue, added to the difficulties just alluded to, by putting into their version such terms as Azymes, Parasceve, Paraclete, Pasch, Neophyte, and others, instead of plain English words conveying obvious meanings. But the Irishman perceives at once the signification of the words that are employed in his native Bible; and can derive the sign of an abstract from its originals, and understand it immediately, without the possession of education, or an implicit reliance on his teacher; just as an Englishman will at once perceive the significations of eye-sight, and ill-will. From hence also this good result will follow, which is incalculable in a country so circumstanced as Ireland is, that the meaning of the original word can never be entirely preached away; and false interpretations—such as have gradually crept in, of charity for love; or been insidiously introduced, as of penance for repentance—can never be attempted with abiding success.

Another advantage which attaches upon the use of the Irish Bible in some parts of Ireland is, that it cannot be put aside upon the reasonable objection, that it is not the version of the Roman Catholic Church; they cannot say of it, as they often do, in rejecting the English translation of the Protestants, "give us our own—the Douay and the Rhemish;"—and this because

there is but one Irish version, and that one never excepted against on such grounds. This is an important matter; for it is no little responsibility that is incurred, by giving indiscriminately under the divine impress, books so replete with spiritual error, as the insidious versions, of Douay and of Rheims, from the Latin Vulgate, into the English tongue.

THE END.

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